

# IN THESE TIMES

Return Postage  
Guaranteed

BULK RATE  
U.S. POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
Chicago, IL  
Permit No. 4881

Vol. 1, No. 1

Nov. 15-21, 1976

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Suante Ersson  
Borguagen 23  
S-902 53 Umea  
Sweden

## Politicians get foreign aid— from Korean CIA

By Sarah James  
And Tim Frasca  
Washington Bureau

Washington. Relations between the U.S. and South Korea have been thrown into question by recent revelations that South Korea operated a wide-ranging network of intelligence gathering and repression inside the U.S. and that South Korean agents have bribed U.S. congressmen.

There is speculation that the revelations, most of which originated in leaks from government sources, are not coincidental, but represent the beginnings of an American policy shift concerning the Park Chung Hee regime in South Korea. The revelations are seen as reflecting both the anger of American policymakers at "highly improper" interference in American affairs and their concern that the Park regime is not fundamentally stable and secure.

The U.S. currently maintains 40,000 troops in South Korea and there is widespread fear that if they were to be removed—as President-elect Carter has hinted—the Park regime has so little support that it would be unable to sustain itself.

According to this interpretation, the leaks are seen as warnings to Park to change his policies and to stop trying to

influence American policy. As former ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer says, "What is going on in Korea right now is making Korea a harder place to defend against the North.... Conceivably President Park has it in him to change course.... If he can't do it, there probably are others that could."

The various leaks and revelations, however, have revealed a wide variety of questionable activities by South Korean officials and agents in the U.S. and, until now, the apparent unwillingness of the government to put a stop to them.

### ►A list of 90 congressmen.

The current inquiry centers on a Washington-based Korean entrepreneur named Tongsun Park. Park, who came to the U.S. as a student in the late '50s and began working for the Korean CIA in 1965, reportedly has dispensed \$500,000 to \$1 million to legislators during the past few years.

Government sources, corroborated by Korean sources quoted in the *New York Times*, report that Park met in Dec. 1971 with Korean President Park Chung Hee Col. Pak Bo Hi of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation—also chief adviser and translator for the Rev. Sun

Continued on page 14

### In this issue

Jamaica—another socialist island?  
*Coming election will determine new nation's path* 3

Left revival in Bay Area  
*New movement based in community focuses on election* 6

China's new direction  
*Mao's relatives and appointed successors silenced* 11

50,000 tenants can't be wrong  
*The largest, most successful rent strike in history* 12

Albert Maltz on a popular front  
*Blacklisted Hollywood writer reviews Woody Allen* 17



—Photo by UPI

Chiang Ch'ing and Chairman Mao: She was the most hated and he was the most revered person in China. Page 11.



Ron Dellums: "I think democratic socialism will prevail in this country because it makes an enormous amount of sense." Page 6.

These Times Photo by Claire Greensfelder



Photos from Columbia Pictures

Ronald Reagan and Robert Taylor: They both hated Communists and Communist sympathizers in Hollywood (seen in earlier, unhappier days). Page 17.



## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published weekly by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.,  
1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622James Weinstein  
EditorDoyle Niemann  
Managing EditorKen Gleason  
Foreign News EditorJanet Stevenson  
Cultural EditorJudy MacLean  
Dan Marschall  
David Moberg  
Bonne Nesbitt  
National StaffJane Melnick  
Jim Rinnert  
Kerry Tremain  
Art/Production StaffTimothy J. Naylor  
Advertising/Business DirectorTorie Osborn  
Circulation ManagerCarol Becker  
Office ManagerM.J. Sklar  
Editorial Associate

Library Staff: Bill Burr, Judee Gallagher, Steven Rosswurm.

Bureaus: John Judis, Joel Parker, San Francisco; Sarah James, Tim Frasca, Washington.

**Sponsors:** Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs, Arthur Kinoy, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Harry Magdoff, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Warren Susman, Paul Sweezy, E.P. Thompson, William A. Williams.

**Main Office**  
1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622  
(312) 489-4444

**Washington Office**  
P.O. Box 21072, Washington, DC 20009

**San Francisco Office**  
4120 Telegraph Av., Oakland, CA 94609  
(415) 653-0455

**News Services**  
Africa News Service, Agence France-Presse, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, London Economist News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service, Reuters, Zodiac News Service.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1976 by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume any liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will not be returned. Mail subscriptions, address changes and adjustments should be sent to *In These Times*, Circulation Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising rates sent on request; write *In These Times*, Advertising Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622.

All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

Printed at the Merrill Printing Co., Chicago, a Graphic Arts International Union shop.

This edition published Nov. 15, 1976, for newsstand sales from Nov. 15 to Nov. 21.

## NEWSFRONT

## So the Carter era begins...

Last week began well enough. The election hangover was over. People began going from "Carter!" to "Carter?" The *New York Times* Sunday, Nov. 7, even seemed like any other Sunday: At the bottom of Page One, it was reported that a Mafia family was doing what Mafia families sometimes do in factional strife—kill.

But, of course, it was not any other Sunday; it was the Sunday that comes once every four years: the Sunday after the presidential election. A time to pause.

Never mind that President-elect Carter was elected in the closest electoral election in 60 years and with the lowest turnout of voting-age Americans in 28 years. The joy of elections is that someone must win and Carter won—with big help from labor and blacks.

Never mind that unemployment, officially at nearly 8 percent, and a lackluster economy seem like so much slush the morning after a big snowfall. There will be time to take care of that—again with big help from labor and blacks and others.

Never mind that President Ford, unelected to his job, had in his truncated tenure pardoned the man who appointed him and then went on to hold the government together for two years with band-aids. He would be gone after Jan. 20.

Never mind that after Vietnam, Watergate, the CIA and the FBI, joblessness that had a tip like an iceberg, the Republicans had almost been reelected to their ninth year at the White House. That was all behind the nation now.

As *Time* put it that Monday, leading off its postelection coverage: "So the Carter era begins."

**Medicaid billed for abortions**

That same day in Washington, the Supreme Court ruled that abortions will still be paid by Medicaid, at least for the next few months. The court upheld a District Court ruling on an amendment to social service appropriations that barred a cutoff in federal funds. The cutoff was contained in a statute that would have meant women on welfare would have been forced to seek illegal, dangerous abortions.

**Labor party survives**

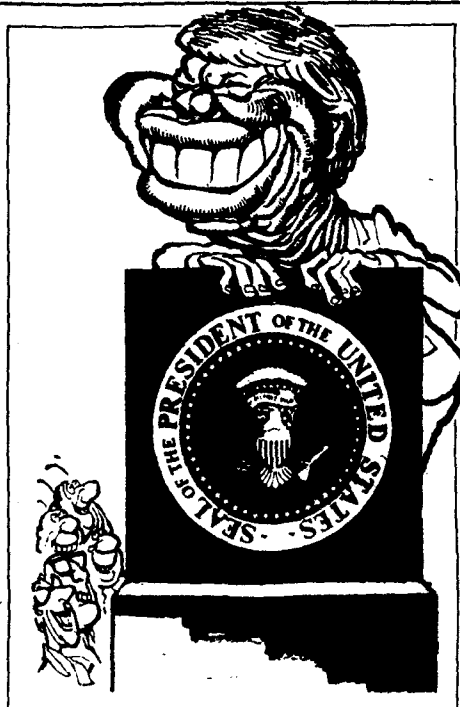
In Britain, the Labor government survived a test in Parliament. Three critical votes supported proposals from the party's left wing, made as part of its price to support the government majority. Laborites lost 2 of 3 byelections to Conservatives the previous week, and in longtime pro-Labor districts.

**Patty Hearst moved**

Out West the next day, California prison officials, apparently having had enough of the temper tantrums of a star felon, Patricia Hearst, had her transferred in the dead of night from a cushy, campus-like prison south of San Francisco to a correctional center in San Diego. Said one prison official, in the week's understatement, "if someone decides to sit around, they are going to be transferred out. There are a lot of people who want to get into this place." Hearst had apparently balked at some of her chores, which included cleaning the shower rooms.

**Wars around the world**

On the world's battlefields last week, things were mixed. In Lebanon, a shaky



truce went into effect as, for the first time since American marines occupied it in 1958, Lebanon fell under foreign military control. The Syrian army, its trucks smeared with Arab League white paint, first took up positions Nov. 8 in leftist-held mountain areas east of Beirut, then two days later occupied rightist-held positions in the city itself. In southern Angola, meanwhile, a new war was brewing—or already under way. South Africa charged Angolan, Cuban and SWAPO guerilla troops were fighting remnants of UNITA, a pro-Western faction defeated in the civil war. Angola claims UNITA troops, financed and backed by South Africa, have repeatedly crossed the border from South African-controlled Namibia to attack SWAPO base camps.

**Israeli workers strike**

By midweek, Israel was "under seige" by half its workforce as 100,000 workers were on strike, threatening to go on strike or engaging in slowdowns—working "by the contract." The civil servants have joined in too, threatening to walk by the end of this week unless pay demands are met. Inflation in Israel is expected to reach 30 percent this year.

**Italian workers under gun**

In Italy, the Andreotti government gave unions and employers a month to reach agreement on reducing labor costs or face more tax increases. A million workers went on strike against the aus-

terity measures as schools and banks closed, buses stopped running, newspapers failed to appear and public services came to a halt. "We have no reason to foresee any alteration in the present political picture," Giorgio Napolitano, the Communist party economic expert, said as the PCI gave its support to the government measures. The government relies on Communist abstentions to survive.

**The death penalty**

By Friday, the on-again, off-again case of Gary Mark Gilmore, the 35-year-old convict who wants to become the first person executed in the U.S. in more than nine years, was off again—until Nov. 17 at the least.

Gov. Calvin L. Rampton stayed the execution until then so the Utah State Board of Pardons can review the case. Lawyers for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, which led the fight against the death penalty, and the American Civil Liberties Union have become involved.

Gilmore, a convicted murderer, dismissed his original attorneys after they had filed appeals to stay the execution. His latest attorney called his legal opponents "irresponsible do-gooders" and asked, "Do we have to test the constitutionality of everything?"

Meanwhile, warden Samuel Smith had requests from 30 persons who want to join the five-man firing squad. "I am looking for solid citizens not afraid to do their public duty," he said, explaining he had struck out some who had volunteered for "unhealthy" reasons.

**U.S., Vietnam meet**

In Paris, the U.S. and Vietnam opened talks Friday to normalize relations, their first official contact since the Paris Vietnam peace agreement was signed in that city in January 1973.

Vietnam has applied for U.N. membership and that is expected to come up in the Security Council Nov. 15, possibly for a vote. The U.S. is expected to veto that.

Vietnam has said the U.S., under the earlier agreement, has an obligation to help in reconstruction of the war-torn country. The U.S. has said it wants a complete accounting of the fate of 800 GI's who are listed as missing in action.

These talks are preliminary. No decisive progress will be made until after President-elect Carter takes office.



**Mediterranean Newsfront:** Last week in Lebanon, the Syrian army took up peacekeeping duties; in Israel, half the workforce was on strike, threatening to do so or on a slowdown, and in Italy, workers faced further austerity from the Andreotti government.



# Jamaica election violence laid to U.S.

By Saul Landau

Washington. With elections expected in late December or early next year, tensions have been increasing in recent weeks between Jamaica's ruling party of Michael Manley and its more conservative rival, the Jamaica Labor party.

Manley's Peoples National party, which has been moving to the left, is expected to win and to move in a more socialist direction. To prevent this the U.S. government reportedly has been using "destabilization" techniques, similar to those used by the CIA in Chile and other countries, to disrupt the Jamaican economy and political system.

Foremost among these has been economic disruption, manipulation by the press and violence. In the last year political murders in Kingston's slums have become common.

Last week the leading Kingston daily and the American press reported that Edward Seaga, the party leader, and Hugh Shearer, the former prime minister, came under shotgun fire when a campaign motorcade in which they were riding was shot at as it passed a Peoples National party headquarters in York Pen, about 45 miles from Kingston.

Neither Seaga nor Shearer were hit, the press reported, but 10 people were injured, six seriously.

In response, press reports said, opposition supporters in the motorcade chased off the gunmen and burned the party headquarters.

A Manley government statement Nov. 4 protested these reports as "grossly inaccurate and misleading."

## ► 'A shot' from car.

The facts, according to the statement, are that on Monday, Nov. 1, advance cars of a Labor party motorcade stopped in front of the National party headquarters and their occupants attempted to remove posters from its walls. Police report that "a shot was fired from one of the cars in the motorcade" toward the headquarters and in the ensuing melee 11 persons were injured and the building burned to the ground.

Neither Seaga nor Shearer were in the vicinity at the time of the incident, police reported.

Both the news report and the government correction indicate the intensity of



Photo by United Press International

Michael Manley, Jamaican prime minister

the struggle being waged over Jamaica's future—a struggle that challenges both Jamaica's ruling class and the newly-independent nation's traditional relationship with American and British capital.

Manley and his ruling party have chosen to make socialism the central issue and have declared that imperialism and capitalism are the enemy. Some Jamaican leftists deride Manley's use of the word socialism, but Jamaica's workers and farmers have responded to the party platform with enthusiastic support.

## ► U.S. opposition.

American corporations and the U.S. government saw red in 1975 when Manley increased the bauxite levy from \$25,000,000 to \$160,000,000, insisted that aluminum companies reclaim land where bauxite had been mined and upheld the principle that land could not be owned by foreign corporations but could only be leased.

But since Jamaica is the source of 60 percent of the U.S.'s bauxite and since American corporations buy 80 percent of his country's production, Manley was careful to give assurances that there would be no cutoff of aluminum ore.

Relations between Kingston and Washington remain cool. Gen. Maxwell Taylor, the former U.S. joint chiefs of staff chairman, wrote in a recent book that even a hint of a bauxite cutoff would justify American military intervention. There has been no such hint, but the bauxite-levy increase agitated some American policymakers. Manley's later support of Prime Minister Fidel Castro's decision

to send Cuban troops to Angola confirmed and guaranteed American hostility.

American disapproval of Manley's actions turned into destabilizing actions and further inspired disaffection among the Jamaican upper and middle classes. Destabilizing incidents included shootings and arson earlier this year, the worst of which was the burning of an entire block of houses in central Kingston that left a dozen people dead and 500 homeless.

It also included provocations and minor damage done to an Alcoa plant. The company responded by shutting down operations for six weeks, charging the government was unable to protect its property. Other walkouts and strikes leading to shutdowns followed, as did escalated demands by middlesector workers. All this is reminiscent of CIA destabilization activities in Chile before the overthrow of the Allende government.

## ► Rip us off?

The U.S. applied direct pressure when the Treasury Department held up two bilateral loans. The reason, given by a treasury spokesman, referred to the bauxite levy: "Do you think we ought to let them unilaterally rip us off?"

The Export-Import Bank, reacting to these signs, lowered Jamaica's credit rating from A to B and then to C in early 1976. This meant that what had been bought on credit would now require cash payments, and an unfavorable balance of payments as well as a squeeze on the country's reserves.

By May, Peoples National party mor-

ale was at a low point and Jamaica's economy had dropped to rock bottom.

After Jamaican security forces discovered arms caches, pamphlets calling for an uprising and a plan to commit more murders and then blame them on the PNP, Manley declared a state of emergency in July. This allowed the government to arrest and detain anyone for 90 days without formal charges. Fewer than 200 people were detained, and the violence abated.

More important, Manley took to the road in a campaign for socialism. At meetings all over the island, he reiterated how capitalism and imperialism had systematically plundered Jamaica and the entire Third World.

Since the struggle against imperialism was not Jamaica's alone, alliances with the Third World and especially with Cuba were necessary, he said. This also led him to discuss Angola, solidarity with Africans and endorsement of the Cuban actions there.

## ► September conference.

This campaign theme was articulated to party activists in September at the party national conference, where Manley stressed the need to move rapidly toward socialism, even while explaining the difficulties of governing as a socialist in a country dominated by capitalism. A major issue was the right of workers to strike in a situation where strikes weakened the party in power. Manley supported such strikes.

## Curfew in effect

Kingston, Jamaica. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed here last week in the face of mounting violence and rising political tension. The curfew, in effect from Nov. 9-14, came on the heels of a fire of suspicious origin that reduced several Kingston apartment houses and stores to ashes. Observers say the increased attacks reflect intensification of ideological confrontation between the ruling Peoples National party, which places increasing emphasis on its commitment to "democratic socialism" and the opposition Jamaica Labor party, which has accused the government of going communist.

—Agence France-Presse

# UAW contract gives no cause for cheering

By David Moberg  
National Staff Writer

The new auto contracts, ratified at Ford and waiting approval this week from Chrysler workers, have at least one distinction. "This is the first time," Chrysler local president Robert Wiseman says, "that the UAW has negotiated a contract that they didn't trumpet as the greatest contract ever."

UAW officials are hoping discontent with the new, modest settlement that bubbled up in the Ford ranks following the Oct. 14 settlement of a 25-day strike won't boil over into rejection by Chrysler workers.

Chrysler talks went down to the wire Nov. 5, before initialing of an agreement that adds a couple of "sweeteners" to the basic pattern set with Ford. At least 25,000 workers from six plants walked out as the deadline approached.

The settlement pattern was described by one international representative as "a standard contract in a tough year with a terrible political climate."

Wiseman, longtime local leader at the Twinsburg, Ohio, stamping plant, had a harsher judgement. "We sacrificed a great opportunity when the industry was at the peak of success to make any kind of significant breakthrough in improving our wages, hours or working conditions," he said.

UAW critics say the leadership was not aggressive and signaled an unwillingness to strike. That led management to make tough counterattacks. "After three weeks, management agreed to what is essentially a renewal of the old contract," Wiseman argues. He blames UAW president Leonard Woodcock's ambition to be in the Carter administration for the unambitious negotiating.

Resistance to the contract at Chrysler, where workers have yet to ratify it, will probably be strongest among the skilled trades, who have been flocking to two new caucuses, the International Society of Skilled Trades and the Independent Skilled Trades Council.

The day before the Chrysler deadline, an estimated 3,000 demonstrators, mainly skilled workers, paraded before a heavy police cordon around union headquarters protesting terms of the Ford settlement.

Under a leadership-imposed one-man/one vote procedure, Ford skilled workers approved the pact by only 489 votes. Using the traditional unit-rule procedure, the vote would have been close to 2-to-1 against. The unit rule casts the unit active-member total according to the vote of the majority taking part in the balloting.

Ford production workers, who vote separately, gave the contract a cool 3-to-2 approval with under half of the members voting.

The trades council challenged the trades society vote in U.S. District Court. On Nov. 5 the judge dismissed the suit, ruling that internal union appeals must first be exhausted.

UAW leaders signed a recession-mood contract at a time when the industry is rebounding from last year's downturn. Despite sales below expectations, third-quarter profits are back to historically high levels. G.M. has already registered more than \$2 billion in profit for 1976, well above a 20-percent return on investment.

Even the modest gains made with one hand were taken away by the other. The settlement provides 13 days off over the contract life. This will actually be a real gain of only eight because of calendar changes. UAW leaders argue that the days off are a step toward a shorter workweek and will create jobs and reduce layoffs. But critics charge that even the original UAW demand for 36 days off over three years would have contributed little toward job security and creation.

For example, increasing productivity, averaging 3.6 percent a year, but a whopping 7.7 percent last year, cuts jobs faster than a few days off creates them. With 30,000 fewer workers, the auto companies made as many cars last year as in 1967. More small-car production will further cut employment.

Continued on page 7



Photo by United Press International

Chrysler workers in Windsor, Ont., walk out on strike earlier this month.



# IN THE NATION

## Close for Carter, not for Congress

More people than expected and more than ever before voted in the presidential election, yet on a percentage basis the turnout was the smallest in 28 years. About 80,000,000 people voted, or 53.3 percent of those eligible. In 1972 55.4 percent voted, and four years earlier 60.4 percent.

In getting 51 percent of the votes cast, President-elect Carter ended up in the closest electoral race since 1916, when Woodrow Wilson defeated Charles Evans Hughes by 23 electoral votes. This year, Carter won 297 electoral votes to Ford's 241.

The race was made closer by the independent campaign of former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minn. McCarthy polled almost 700,000 votes in 29 states and drew enough votes from Carter to deny him four states—Iowa, Oklahoma, Oregon and Maine—with a total of 26 electoral votes.

There were 10 other parties on the ballot, but their votes have not yet been tabulated. None came close to winning as

many votes as McCarthy.

While the election did little to change the party makeup of the new Congress (both houses remain virtually unchanged), labor-backed candidates won in 19 Senate races and 258 House races. "We put out our biggest effort ever," said a spokesman for the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. Labor and liberal groups were pleased with the high proportion of Democratic freshmen who survived; all but three of the '76 first-term Democrats were re-elected, despite a determined drive by conservative and business-related interest groups to unseat them.

Women increased their representation by winning a second governorship, in Washington, though there was a net loss of one woman in the House as a result of Bella Abzug's departure. She gave up her seat in an unsuccessful attempt to win the Democratic nomination for senator in New York. The number of women holding statewide elective office, other than governor, as well as state legislative posts is also expected to increase slightly.

## Labor went all out

Will Leonard Woodcock, the United Auto Workers president, get a Carter cabinet post?

That's one of the question union leaders are asking after this election. Woodcock put the UAW behind Carter long before the Georgian had the Democratic nomination and, in fact, while most unions were still supporting Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.). But though Woodcock's well-financed political machine worked flat out for Carter in the last weeks of the campaign, Michigan's 21 electoral votes showed up in President Ford's column when the votes were counted.

The rest of organized labor, though initially unfriendly to Carter, did finally work for him, and work hard. The United Steel Workers, for example, finding 109,000 of its 320,000 Pennsylvania members weren't registered, urged them to

do so, and to vote Democratic.

The American Federation of Government Employees, the largest federal workers union, went all out for Carter too. Carter promised that a federal reorganization won't cut jobs.

The AFL-CIO, whose 14 million members represent political leverage for President George Meany, expects Carter to deliver on jobs and health insurance, relief from clothing import competition, merchant marine aid, and recognition of state and local employees' bargaining rights.

Meany kept the labor body neutral in 1972 because Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) was too far "left" for him. This year was different and \$2,500,000 was spent by labor to help Carter.

That money helped to put 600 fulltime union organizers and 10,000 telephone callers at the Democratic party's disposal, and to mail 70 million pieces of literature.

## Blacks decisive, North and South



By Bonne Nesbitt  
National Staff Writer

Results of a survey by a Washington study group show President-elect Carter won the White House largely because of near-unanimous support of black voters in southern and key eastern states.

According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, a private research organization specializing in black political affairs, 94 percent of the 6,600,000 blacks who voted cast ballots for Carter. In squeaker states like Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas, Carter could not have won without the solid black vote.

Except for his home state of Georgia and possibly Tennessee, the South that Carter carried was not the traditional white dixiecrat vote of previous years—those votes went to President Ford. Carter carried slightly less than the majority of white voters in many southern states, but this was offset by black voters who have registered in increasing numbers since the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

A look at these critical states: Carter carried Mississippi by an 11,537-vote margin; Mississippi's 135,000 black voters ensured that state's seven electoral votes. His Louisiana margin was 77,173; black voters gave him 274,000 votes—and 10 electoral votes. And in Maryland Carter won by 86,000 votes; black voters gave him 180,000 votes—and 10 electoral votes.

Blacks were of enormous help to Carter in at least two eastern states—Ohio and Pennsylvania. He captured Ohio's

25 electoral votes with a 7,586-vote margin. His black vote was 285,000. Carter carried Pennsylvania and its 27 electoral votes with 207,334 votes. Blacks insured his margin with 298,000 votes.

►Closest since '16.

If Carter had lost these five states he would have been 52 electoral votes shy of the 270 needed to win. And, as it was, this was the closest electoral victory since 1916.

As a result, Carter owes more to black voters than any other president in history. And black politicians all over the country are going to call in the debt. They are telling themselves and Carter that he could not have gotten such strong black support without them.

Black voters, however, did not give Carter that much more support than they have given other Democrats. Democrat George McGovern suffered in 1972 the worst defeat of any presidential candidate ever; nevertheless he got 80 percent of the blacks who voted.

Operation Big Vote, a nationwide voter registration-initiative sponsored by the Washington-based National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, claims it registered 275,000 black voters in 36 target cities in 13 states. While the effort, employing resources of 52 black organizations, was unprecedented and important, results are not spectacular in light of the large number of unregistered voters in such target cities as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Detroit.

According to the Joint Center, there were 15,000,000 blacks eligible to vote and a turnout of 6,600,000 represents 43 percent of those potential voters (the overall turnout was 53.5 percent). The 275,000 voters registered by Operation Big Vote is 4 percent of blacks who voted; no figures are available on how many of those newly registered actually voted.

►Labor unions too.

In a number of states, particularly eastern ones like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, labor unions must also be given credit for registering black voters and a number of the larger unions cooperated with Big Vote.

Carter's debt, a real one, is not just owed to black leaders, but to black voters who gave him the only thing resembling a mandate in his election.

## Puerto Rican vote not necessarily for statehood

Voters in Puerto Rico have rejected the candidacy of Rafael Hernandez Colon and his Popular Democratic party in favor of Carlos Romero Barcelon and his pro-statehood New Progressive party. Popular Democrats favor a continuation of Puerto Rico's present commonwealth status.

Two parties supporting independence for Puerto Rico also ran candidates. The Puerto Rican Independence party received 5 percent of the vote and the Puerto Rican Socialist party, running in its first election, received 1 percent.

The surprisingly strong showing of the pro-statehood forces has been interpreted in the U.S. as a rejection of independence by the people of Puerto Rico, heralding a rocky road for efforts to bring that question before the U.N. Decolonization Committee next year.

Jose La Luz, organizational secretary of the U.S. branch of the Socialist party, disagrees with this interpretation. "A vote for the New Progressive party was not necessarily a vote for statehood," he says.

La Luz says the New Progressives ran on a platform of solving unemployment and inflation problems and that statehood was not a campaign issue. "The vote was a protest against the corruption

and repression of the Popular Democrats," he argues. He also points out that for the first time in two decades there were more than 100,000 votes for independence.

Instances of fraud have been found in the still-uncertain race of Carlos Gallisa, a Socialist legislative candidate. "Since we were unable to have poll-watchers in many places, votes may have been stolen," La Luz says.

Another big factor in the low independence turnout, he says, was the split in the movement. The Independence party refused to unite with the Socialists, La Luz says. "A lot of people who were undecided voted for the NPP to protest; many of them would have voted for a united movement."

The New Progressives will be unable to carry through its promises to solve the economic crisis, La Luz believes, and the Puerto Rican labor movement will fight back. This could lead to increased repression, but also to growth in the independence movement. "We never believed we'd achieve independence through elections," he says. "In the new struggles of the next four years, the support of North American progressive people will be a determining factor," he adds.

—Judy MacLean



Election night, North Side, Chicago

In These Times photo by Jane Melnick



# A-controls blitzed

By Dan Marshall  
National Staff Writer

Proponents of strong nuclear-power safeguards suffered stinging defeats in the election. Voters rejected nuclear initiatives by 2-to-1 margins in Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Washington and by 3-to-2 margins in Montana and Oregon.

Initiative backers were especially surprised at the size of the defeats since pre-election polls showed the initiatives leading by up to 2-to-1 margins in Colorado, Washington and Oregon.

Nuclear-industry representatives hailed the results as a "mandate from the people" to move ahead on expanding nuclear-power use to generate electricity.

That forward motion may be slowed, however, by President-elect Carter, who endorses the Oregon initiative, and by recent revelations about nuclear-power hazards. Carter has promised to minimize American dependence on nuclear power, to curtail nuclear proliferation around the world and to direct more federal research funds into conservation and solar energy.

Opponents of fullscale nuclear development triumphed only in Missouri, where voters approved a ballot measure that will stop utility companies from charging ratepayers to construct power facilities in progress. While not a nuclear-power referendum, the measure will slow plans for two nuclear plants in that state.

## ►Before licensing.

Despite minor differences, the six initiatives would have required that before licensing a nuclear plant, state legislatures would have had to certify that tested safety provisions exist and that radioactive waste from the plant could be disposed of without threat to the environment. In addition, utilities would have been required to assume unlimited liability for any accident.

Unlike an initiative defeated by California voters in June, proposals in five of the six states would not have applied to existing nuclear plants.

Despite industry claims, the initiatives did not propose banning nuclear power to generate electricity. But their passage would have considerably slowed construction of more nuclear plants.

Initiative supporters contend the wide margin of defeat was primarily because of the enormous amount of money spent by companies with a direct interest in expanding nuclear power—utilities, reactor manufacturers, engineering firms and uranium miners. Through a variety of "citizen's committees," opponents spent about \$7 million across the country, 13 times the money raised by pro-initiative forces.

Opponents poured much of that money into a last-minute media blitz—television commercials, radio spots and fullpage newspaper ads. Bob Loitz, of Ohioans for Utility Reform (OUR), estimated

that pronuclear companies spent \$2,500,000 in that state through groups with names like Citizens for Safe, Lower-Cost Electricity. Loitz said many Ohioans "voted no on the initiatives thinking that they were voting for utility reform."

The initiative came closest to winning in Oregon, where proponents were well-organized, had conducted a year-long educational campaign and raised \$275,000, more than all the other initiative-backers together. But opponents spent about \$1,000,000 and "we just couldn't compete with that," said Chris Thomas of Oregonians for Nuclear Safeguards.

## ►Tricky, jobs and oil.

Opponents used their overflowing war-chests to convey several simple ideas: that the initiatives were "tricky" attempts to ban all future nuclear plants, that their passage would eliminate jobs in the state and that nuclear power offered the best energy alternative to Arab-owned oil.

Voters were believed especially susceptible to these arguments because of the depressed state of the economy. Jean Warren, spokesperson for Montanans for Initiative 71, found the main factor in the defeat "the legitimate fear of the people for loss of jobs, further decline in the standard of living and the lack of alternative energy sources."

These economic factors also drove many labor unions into the anti-initiative camp. The AFL-CIO and the building trade unions, which expect nuclear-power plants to add about 700,000 construction jobs by the year 2000, worked against the initiatives. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, whose member's jobs are increasingly threatened by runaway shops, did the same.

Some unions did endorse the initiatives: the United Mine Workers, the Retail Clerks, the United Auto Workers in Ohio, and the Oregon Federation of Teachers.

Initiative backers do not interpret election results as a permanent setback or an overall defeat. The initiatives raised the issue of safe nuclear power as never before. In Montana, the initiative contributed to the defeat of two pro-utility judges for the state's Supreme Court. In Oregon, the governor pointed out the results showed that a sizeable minority were wary of the dangers of nuclear power.

Meladee Martin, executive director of Coloradans for Safe Power, is optimistic about the future and encouraged by the election of Carter, who has a strong nuclear policy. "We've learned a lot in this campaign, especially about the power of the media," she said. Because of the low level of public knowledge about nuclear power, people believed industry statements and perceived the law as a ban. The only way to counter that misinformation is through an ongoing educational campaign and we're committed to doing just that."



S. I. Hayakawa

## 'We stole it fair and square'

San Francisco. "I think people were looking for someone from the outside who was coming into politics with new ideas," S.I. Hayakawa, California's new senator-elect, said in explaining his upset victory over incumbent Democrat John Tunney.

Hayakawa's new ideas included:

- Relaxation of child-labor and minimum-wage laws for teenagers. "They don't have to be protected against overwork or exhaustion," Hayakawa said. "They have to be protected against boredom and frustration." Hayakawa suggested \$1.50 an hour as a minimum wage. When asked whether, in addition to leading to abuse of teenage labor, a relaxation of the laws might also hurt adult workers, Hayakawa insisted that "there are jobs in processing plants and in the fields that are not being filled because of the excessive demands of the minimum-wage and child-labor laws."
- Work permits for illegal aliens. "We may be making money off them, Haya-

kawa explained. First, they take jobs that "neither white nor black Americans will take at any price." Second, they pay social security taxes on their earnings but don't collect the benefits.

- Justification of the relocation of Japanese citizens during World War II, which, Hayakawa explained, broke up the patriarchal structure of Japanese families and made possible the greater integration of Japanese into American society.

- Support of the B1 bomber as "the world's most effective weapon for peace."

- Keeping Panama. "We should keep it," he told a group of Republican women. "After all, we stole it fair and square."

- Conversion to conservatism: "The liberal sees himself as the hero of a melodrama—he's always rescuing victims.... Conservatives are less interested in the failures of society than in the successes."

—John Judis

## Farmworkers lose—the fight goes on

California voters have defeated an initiative entitled Proposition 14, sponsored by the United Farm Workers that would have rewritten the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act and permanently guaranteed the right of farmworkers to vote by secret ballot for the union of their choice.

The initiative, which had been the focus of a yearlong UFW organizing effort, failed by a 62-to-38 percent margin.

Opponents focused their attacks on a provision that would have guaranteed union organizers access to farmworkers in the fields for three hours a day during nonworking hours. In a massive advertising media campaign they argued that this provision violated private property rights. Defeat of the initiative, however, does not affect "access" of union organizers. This right has already been given

through an agricultural board ruling, upheld by the California and U.S. supreme courts.

According to UFW leader Cesar Chavez, "The biggest disappointment was to see how easy it was to lie to the people and have them believe them." Chavez was particularly upset that people would turn away from the UFW because of misleading TV ads that ignored the economic realities of the farmworkers and raised false issues of property rights.

Chavez vowed to continue the fight. "Our experience in this movement is that we never lose," he said. "There may be temporary setbacks, but we never lose." Chavez called the work on Proposition 14 "an investment" and urged supporters not to be bitter. He said farmworkers have the time to fight back, while growers only have money and "there's more time than money."

## The battle of the bottles

Environmentalists scored an election victory when voters in Michigan and Maine approved ballot measures to ban throwaway beverage containers. "The wins show a tremendous amount of public support on this issue," said Pamela Deuel, a lobbyist for Environmental Action in Washington, D.C., "and we intend to go for a national bill next year."

Similar bills were defeated in Colorado and Massachusetts by well-financed coalitions of brewers, softdrink manufacturers, bottle and canmakers, and some labor unions.

The initiative stirred vigorous public debate in Michigan, where opponents spent more than \$1,100,000 to convince voters that it would cost the state jobs and raise the price of beer and soft drinks. The Michigan AFL-CIO charged that it would replace high-paying manufactur-

ing jobs with low-paying jobs in transportation and recycling. Initiative supporters conceded that some "job displacement" will occur.

The bills, which were modeled on laws in Oregon and Vermont, ban pull-top cans and require a minimum 5-cent deposit on returnable containers.

Studies by the U.S. government have drawn different conclusions about the longrange impact of a throwaway ban on jobs, prices, litter and energy consumption. Most observers agree, however, on the success of the four-year-old experiment in Oregon. Former Oregon Gov. Tom McCall led his "truth squad" across the country in defense of the proposals, citing a 40-percent reduction in the volume of litter and a net increase in employment.

—Dan Marshall



## East Bay left comes back to life

By John Judis  
San Francisco Bureau

San Francisco. By the fall of 1974, it looked as if the movement on the Berkeley campus and in the Oakland ghetto had its last gasp. The campus was quiet. The April Coalition, Berkeley's main community organization, had fallen apart under pressure of defeat and factional strife. After losing the Oakland mayoral election, Bobby Seale, a Black Panther leader, had decided to leave the party. And Huey Newton, the party leader, had fled the country to avoid prosecution.

Two years later it looks as if the movement is coming back to life, largely under the leadership of Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.). Dellums and other East Bay activists have rebuilt the coalition into Berkeley Citizen's Action, which in the spring of 1975 captured two seats on the Berkeley City Council and the office of auditor. They have built an electoral coalition in the greater East Bay that includes BCA, the Panthers, the Oakland Democratic clubs, the city and county unions and Berkeley and Oakland neighborhood organizations.

This November, the coalition-backed slate of Dellums for congress, Tom Bates for state assembly and John George for county supervisor won by a 2-to-1 margin.

Coalition members have a common vocabulary but stress different terms in describing their goals. "If you support us," George said during the campaign, "you are saying that you want to go on an adventure to restructure American society."

Bates emphasized popular power. "I want to see the government decentralized and power returned to the communities," he said.

Other BCA members, including Dellums, speak of democratic socialism as the goal. "I would like to see an economy where all the basic decisions about basic industry and basic resources are made by the public," Ilona Hancock, a Berkeley city council member and BCA activist said.

This outlook has been translated into support locally for rent control, public ownership of utilities, publicly controlled industrial development and the rights of women, minorities and labor.

Unlike much of the old movement, however, coalition efforts are focused on elections. "One of the critical things about election," Lee Halterman, one of Dellums' aides, told *In These Times*, "is that it gives you a forum in which to talk to people that just isn't available elsewhere. If you knock on someone's door during an election, you have legitimacy."

While local elections are nonpartisan, state and congressional ones are not. In 1970, Dellums decided to challenge incumbent Jeffrey Cohelan in the Democratic primary rather than risking defeat and a Republican victory in a three-way contest.

Coalition members defend that strategy. "At this point," Hancock said, "the Democratic party is the vehicle for reaching most of the American people with a program for a better society."

The recent success of the BCA and of Dellums, Bates and George has led Republicans and moderate Democrats to charge that Dellums is building an East Bay "machine."

Dellums denies the charge. "I have always maintained that it is a movement, a direction in politics," he told *In These Times*, "but the establishment finds it difficult to deal with ideas, so they have to find a way of putting their won corrupt label on it."

Hancock also rejects the charge. "I find the whole business amusing," she said. "A machine by any other name might be a movement or a political community."

## 'If democracy means anything'

**Q.** An article in the Nation a while ago said you are the closest thing to a socialist elected to Congress in 20 years. Your approach seems like the socialist ideal of uniting working people against corporate power to establish popular ownership and democratic control of society's basic wealth. Is that your view?

**A.** I think democratic socialism will ultimately prevail in this country because it makes an enormous amount of sense. We have to ask if the problems in society can be solved while we are propping up the major corporations. Right now the politician's codeword is the "tradeoff of unemployment for inflation," but that's simply a way to ask if one is committed to the 10 or 12,000,000 unemployed or to the top 50 corporations in the U.S. Obviously, the Ford administration, and perhaps President-elect Jimmy Carter, are committed to fighting inflation, to propping up the corporations as opposed to dealing with the human misery of unemployment. But if democracy means anything, it should mean a government

John Judis, of our San Francisco Bureau, recently interviewed Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.), who said he favors "democratic socialism" and who attacked President Ford and President-elect Jimmy Carter for "propping up the corporations as opposed to dealing with the human misery of unemployment." Judis interviewed Dellums in September in the representative's Oakland, Calif., district office. Dellums, 40, of Berkeley, just won re-election to his fourth term.

status. But life. If you accept that value, there are enormous ramifications, because then you logically oppose war, pollution, racism and sexism—all things that endanger or inhibit life.

Another value is the right of every human being to realize his or her fullest potential. What inhibits human beings from realizing their full human potential? If you are a woman, sexism; if you are black, brown or yellow, racism; if you are a senior citizen, age chauvinism; if you are working class or poor, classism.

Is classism another word for capitalism?

Yes. We live in a class society, one with Rockefellers and paupers. There is something inherently wrong with that. It is in direct violation of the concept of democracy for a handful of people to control the wealth and to have influence that goes far beyond even the actual dollars. So we start with a humanistic value system and ask: What inhibits life and growth? The answer is war, pollution, elitism, corporate corruption, corporate power that controls over 90

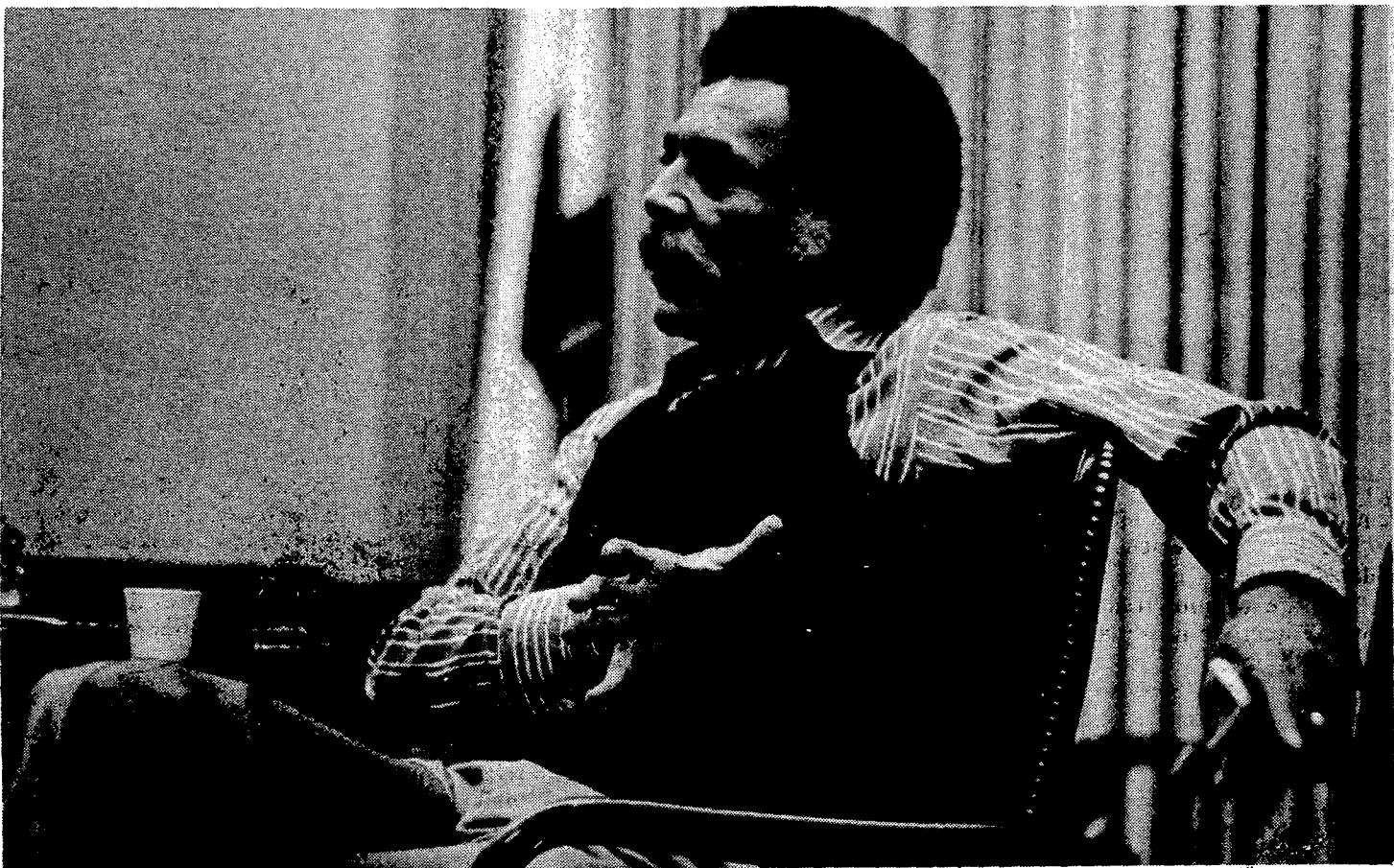


Photo by Claire Greenfelder

Dellums: "Because I advocate society and the government dealing with the basic human services I guess my answer is yes."

of all the people, by all the people, for all the people....

People have asked, does that mean you are a socialist? Because I advocate society and the government dealing with the basic human services I guess my answer is yes. The government ought to be in the business of delivering health, education, housing and basic services to people without a lot of game playing. There ought to be comprehensive child-care, a comprehensive approach to housing, a sane, rational way to finance education. But I also strongly believe in the notion of fundamental individual freedom. The government should not do everything for everybody all the time, but it should provide basic services to everyone who needs them. Education ought not be contingent on income or where you live. Neither should health.

**What about energy and food?**

Basic human needs like food cannot be corporate questions. It frightens me that the food business, from the growers to the distributors, is rapidly becoming dominated and controlled by a few corporations, some of whose names give no notion that they grow, process or distribute food. That's dangerous because if there is one thing people ought to be able to do unencumbered by the complexities of economics, it's eating—a simple proposition. When you complicate eating with economics, you have missed what life ought to be about.

Similarly with energy. We are now moving away from fossil fuel, but why

should these corporations own the sun if you have solar energy or own the wind if you have windmill generators or control the earth if we have geothermal energy. And why should private corporations build nuclear power plants without first solving the technical health problems that are inherent in nuclear reactors? Those things ought to be owned and controlled by the public.

We have not done that because the government has not controlled the corporations, but has been controlled by them. That is why our democracy is more symbolic than real.

**Over the past few years...a number of candidates who share your views...have been elected to office in the East Bay. Do you see this as the beginning of a movement?**

Yes, people in this community are trying to develop a continuity of critical ideas, so that a person who carries the banner of "new politics" into the electoral arena is no more than that—someone who carries a banner....It's not a machine; it's the beginning of a movement.

**What principles define this movement?**

Our politics are based on four things: a value base, a perceptual frame of reference, a set of goals and objectives and a strategy by which to seek these. First, we operate from the humanistic value that life is the most precious thing on earth. Not bullets and bombs, or property and money, or prestige and

percent of the wealth and dominates people's lives.

Third, our objectives are to eradicate the conditions that keep some people in abject poverty, hunger and disease, while the society protects the extraordinary wealth of others. We oppose a politics that makes a priority of building B1 bombers and not of building for people in our communities.

Fourth, strategy? Coalition politics that brings people together around mutual self-interest. We bring black, brown and yellow people together, women, students, senior citizens, working-class people, poor people around their common oppression. The degree to which you are able to attract a broad range of people all committed to the eradication of their oppression is the degree to which you can develop a broad political movement. My running for Congress was simply a test of the idea that in one of the most diverse congressional districts in the U.S. it was possible to create an effective people's coalition. And for three terms this district—71 percent white—has elected a black person, which means that we are capable of going beyond the dimension of race and come together around other kinds of concerns.... Status quo politics perpetuates the misery of most people and benefits only a very small group. Our politics have to be for change. The American reality is that money is concentrated in the hands of very few people, with the rest of us forced to fight each other for a share of what's left.





Demonstrators in the Holyoke, Mass., area rally for Markley and Soares (LEFT) as Markley speaks at rally (RIGHT).

## Union organizer faces bomb charge

By Steve Turner

Holyoke, Mass. The Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau of the U.S. Treasury Department seems to have entered the field of labor spying and political espionage, as the case of Alex Markley and Antonio Soares in Holyoke, Mass., shows. Markley and Soares were ensnared during a bureau strike infiltration in Holyoke last fall.

According to Markley and Soares, a bureau undercover agent offered to "take care of" trucks crossing the picket line set up by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) Local 259 at the Worthington Compressor Co.—if given the necessary explosives.

No bombing, or any other violence, took place, but Markley and Soares were indicted—eight months later—for the conspiracy the bureau had invented. The indictment, kept secret, was then used in an attempt to coerce the men into becoming bureau informers and provocateurs in the labor movement. Markley and Soares refused.

They are awaiting trial and could get up to 60 years in prison and \$60,000 in additional fines.

Markley is UE Western Massachusetts organizer and former president of Local 259. Soares, a construction electrician and member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is Markley's friend and is in the case by accident. He

dropped by during the strike when undercover agent Thomas O'Reilly was hanging around, and ended up in the net.

### ►A potential violator

O'Reilly's presence is one of the anomalies. Arthur Montuori, the bureau's New England special agent-in-charge, admits O'Reilly operated under cover in Holyoke, but will not say why. In fact, Montuori will say little other than "Markley was identified to us as a potential violator of the law." Denying that the bureau acted illegally, Montuori calls the charge of labor subversion a lie. "We focus on individuals," says Montuori, "not groups."

But Markley says bureau agents interrogated him off and on for 12 hours and wanted dirt and political intelligence on all aspects of the local labor movement, as well as information on explosives and firearms.

They also wanted him. The agents, Markley says, "Made it clear that I could be a great help to them because of my position in the union." Interrogators named other unions they were interested in, he says, and suggested he might help to set traps for other union activists. He also says they offered money for information and offered to intercede with the prosecutor if he cooperated.

"What it came down to," Markley says, "is that I had the choice of selling out my friends or taking the chance that

the public will get mad and say 'enough'.... They can put the whole god-damn country in jail unless we draw the line."

The Markley-Soares Defense Committee is making a strong start at drawing that line. Pioneer Valley AFL-CIO councils, shy at first at getting involved with the traditionally Red-baited UE, have swung memberships totaling 60,000 behind a petition to drop all charges against the two men and to start a congressional investigation of bureau labor spying. Rallies around the valley are drawing fair-sized crowds. Holyoke-area Reps. Sylvio O. Conte (R) and Edward P. Boland (D), impressed by the labor support have backed the call for an investigation.

### ►Network of informers and provocateurs

Defense committee information shows the bureau, reputed here to control the nation's largest network of informers and provocateurs, has outgrown all other domestic police-intelligence agencies.

Flaws in evidence and data may damage the government's case at the trial (still unscheduled), but victory in federal court, which accepts entrapment as legal, is far from certain.

And much as they want a victory in court, defense workers see it as only one of many steps ahead. "ATFB is trying to build itself into a giant secret police agency," says committee coordinator Don Tormey. "It's got to be stopped."

## Entrapment comes back

*"So the poor stiff saws it off, and they arrest him. Then they say to him what they told his friend. 'Give us someone else and we'll go easy on you.'"*

Holyoke, Mass. An unsavory picture of federal entrapment procedures is emerging in the Markley-Soares case.

"It seems to be their standard procedure at ATFB," says Don Tormey, the defense committee coordinator. "Leslie Moore, the guy who set up Alex Markley (by introducing and vouching for undercover agent Thomas O'Reilly) was under indictment for a firearms violation at the time. And he says they got him the same way."

Moore claims he owned a legal but inoperative shotgun, Tormey says. He was laid off and needed money, and a friend—later revealed to be under a similar bureau-secured indictment—introduced an undercover agent who offered to buy Moore's gun if he would saw off the barrel.

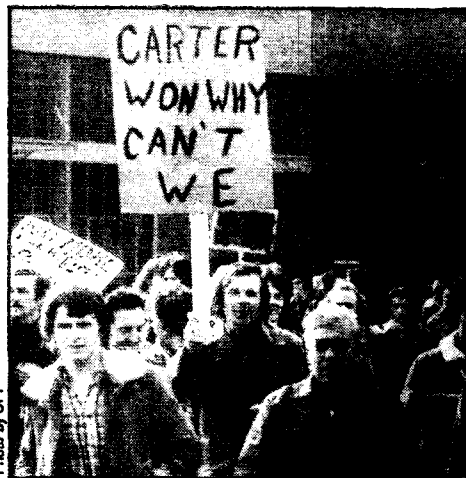
"So the poor stiff saws it off," Tormey says, "and they arrest him. Then they say to him what they told his 'friend': Give us someone else, and we'll go easy on you. The friend picked Moore, and Moore picked Markley (and received a sentence of two years' probation). They run it just like a chain letter, except that Markley and Soares broke the chain. The ATFB wants to get them for that."

Unfortunately for Markley and Soares, Frank Freedman, the federal judge most likely to hear their case, has endorsed bureau procedures. In remarks in the *Springfield Union* during a recent firearms case, Freedman said, "It is not entrapment if the government provides favorable opportunities (for the defendants) to commit illegal acts."

—Steve Turner

## UAW contract

Continued from page 3



Concessions on part-time workers and overtime further nullify even the token move to a shorter week. Overtime is cheaper for the companies than rehiring or new hiring because they don't have increased benefit payments, now over a third of the company wage-bill. The union made no move toward doubletime pay or a more direct limitation of overtime while unemployment is high. Even feeble 1973 restrictions on forced overtime were weakened.

### ►Little for job security

Three days after the Ford contract was signed, workers at a South Chicago assembly plant saw how little the contract did for job security. The workweek was expanded from 40 to 50 hours and newly hired workers were laid off.

"It's outrageous," veteran inspector Arp Balla said. "Woodcock is unfit for the office. There was a strong resentment for the first few days back to work. I've heard that the union officers were booed out of some departments."

The Ford and Chrysler contracts also recognize for the first time corporate rights to hire part-time workers for Mondays and Fridays, when absenteeism often runs 15 to 20 percent. That was granted, one insider suggested, in place of company proposals to make the union responsible for absenteeism. But some absenteeism control crept in. Workers must be on the job the day before and after their new days off to be paid.

Management can also pay a worker instead of giving the day off.

Retirees will get an inflation-fighting check of \$400 to \$600 but it will be paid for by workers losing a penny an hour from their cost-of-living adjustment for six quarters, an estimated \$110 loss. "They make the corporation look very good by giving it to the pensioners," Pete Kelly, the United National Caucus opposition leader, said, "making it look like it comes from the corporation as a gift when it comes out of workers' pockets."

The union won higher contributions to the supplementary unemployment (SUB) funds but lost on retroactive payments into the exhausted Chrysler fund. SUB payments to workers will be cut \$5 a day. A new reserve fund will protect high seniority workers only.

Money gains for the average assembler making \$6.57 an hour include only 11 cents "new money" beyond already scheduled cost-of-living and productivity increases and an additional 9 cents for cost-of-living increases not covered by

the last contract. Skilled trades drew an extra 25 to 35 cents an hour.

### ►Skilled workers

Skilled workers wanted a bigger increase to restore their traditional margin above production workers plus better representation in plants and the union. Their demands for subcontracting restrictions were met slightly better in the Chrysler contract than at Ford.

The Chrysler settlement also denied foremen UAW seniority during their time as supervisors. Workers bumped by foremen returning to the line during layoffs were angered that the Ford terms lacked this.

Chrysler local negotiations, usually the key to changing working conditions, were largely unsettled at the end of last week. Some officials feared the rush to take on General Motors, where the strike deadline is Nov. 19, might pressure Chrysler locals to settle without threatening strikes. G.M.'s pattern will probably be the same, although the company will resist the days off and the UAW wants G.M. to be neutral during organizing drives in the new Southern plants.

"This contract will prove totally inadequate over the next three years," Kelly said.

"The credibility of the union was diminished by this contract and it's conceivable this contract could be wiped out by a major walkout in the middle of the contract. The auto industry has come to the end of an era when we could rely on programs trickling down. It's the beginning of an era when the working class will have to fight like hell to get equality and justice."

## Carter faces slow recovery

Senior Western economists last week issued a gloomy forecast, predicting that economic recovery in the major industrial countries next year will be slower than expected.

Experts for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which groups all the leading non-Communist industrial countries, scaled down their predictions for economic growth in the first half of 1977 to under 4.5 percent. A further slowdown is expected in the second half of the year.

The OECD had already lowered its growth estimates in the second half of this year from 5 to 3.5 percent.

The new figures confirm what nearly all the analysts are saying, that economic recovery is not occurring as quickly as expected. President Ford and other Western leaders agreed last spring to restrain economic growth to avoid what they feared would be a new burst of inflation.

Inflation is still high in the West and recovery is even more sluggish than Ford had anticipated. President-elect Carter is expected to take a different tack on the recovery issue, however, putting the emphasis on stimulating faster growth to combat unemployment. Carter's advisers believe that since this would mean the U.S. buying more goods, it would also help U.S. trading partners abroad.

—Internews



## IN SHORT

### U.S. and Mexico prisoner exchange

The U.S. and Mexico reached an agreement Nov. 5 on a mutual exchange of prisoners. This would allow about 600 Americans now in Mexican jails, most on narcotics charges, to return to the U.S. to complete their sentences.

After transfer to the U.S. the prisoners would have the right to appeal for parole. State Dept. officials say that evidence of abuse while in Mexican jails would help a prisoner's chances of being set free.

Mexican or American prisoners must request to be exchanged. More Americans than Mexicans are expected to request repatriation.

### Nominations open in USW

The heated contest for leadership of the United Steelworkers union entered a month-long period of nominations by local unions on Nov. 8. The contenders for president are the insurgent district director from Chicago and Gary, Ed Sadlowski, and Lloyd McBride, the St. Louis director who pledges to follow in the footsteps of retiring president I.W. Abel.

Sadlowski has filed or threatened several suits against the union leadership to obtain lists of local union officers for mailings, to find out where local balloting will take place in order to monitor votes, and to stop attacks on him in *Steel Labor*, the union newspaper.

### Unemployment is a killer

More and more Americans are killing themselves, dying of serious illnesses or becoming criminals because of the strain caused by rising unemployment, says a 230-page study released recently by the congressional Joint Economic Committee.

According to the study, prepared by Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University, a 1.4 percent rise in unemployment during 1970 was associated directly with 1,500 additional suicides, 1,700 additional homicides and 25,000 heart and kidney disease deaths over a five-year period. In an accompanying statement the committee chairman, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), warned that the present 7.8 percent level of unemployment would result in 60,000 additional stress-related deaths by 1980. During the same period 11,000 more people would be admitted to mental hospitals and 15,900 more would go to prison.

### Banks dominate

A Georgetown University law professor is warning that just seven American banking institutions—five of them in New York alone—virtually dominate Wall Street.

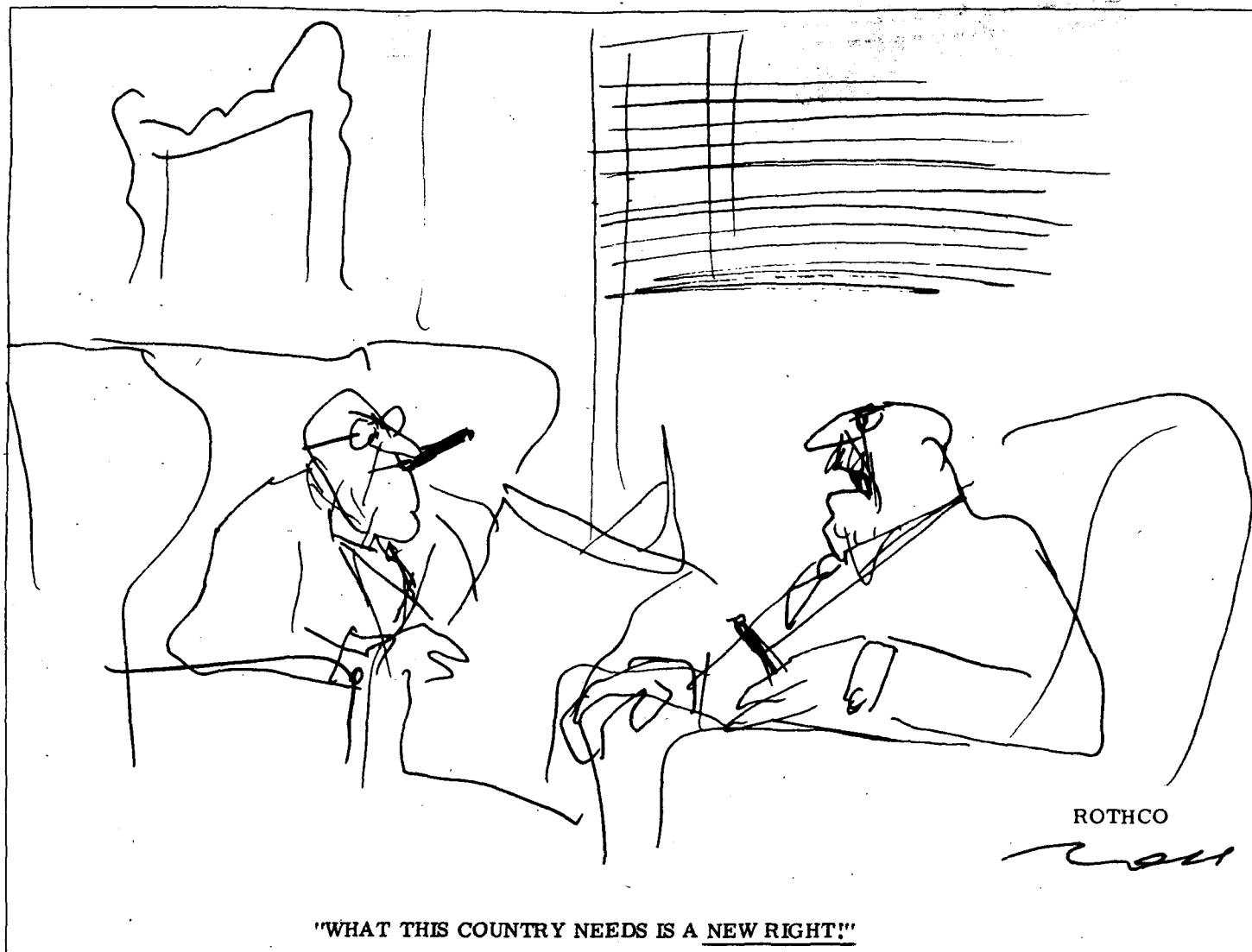
The seven, according to Schotland, are Morgan Guaranty Trust, Citibank, Bankers Trust, Chase Manhattan Bank, Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh, United States Trust Co. and Manufacturers Hanover.

### Iranians on hunger strike in Houston

Ninety-two Iranian students, arrested in Houston Nov. 9 after police attacked their peaceful demonstration, are on hunger strike until their demands are met and they are released. They face possible deportation.

The demonstration was part of an effort by the World Confederation of the Iranian Student Association to obtain release from French jails of two leaders, Nader Oskui and Reza Takbiri, who are charged with killing an agent of Iran's dreaded secret police, SAVAK. The students were demonstrating in front of Houston's French consulate.

—Wire Services



## Right builds money base

By Judy MacLean  
National Staff Writer

A new conservative leadership group, friendly to Republican candidates but scornful of the Republican party, is carefully raising money and building the organization for an effort to move Congress sharply to the right over the next several elections.

The emergence of new groups on the right is nothing new. The important factor in what is often called the "new right" is money. Four years ago, national conservative organizations raised about \$250,000 for the 1972 congressional elections. This year, they raised about \$3,500,000.

In spite of enormous fund-raising costs and other operating expenses, the conservative organizations pumped nearly a million dollars into congressional campaigns this year and provided an array of training, advice and other services for candidates of the right.

*Right Report*, a biweekly newsletter of the emerging movement, targeted 20 conservatives to elect to Congress this election. Eight were elected.

Morton Blackwell, spokesman for *Right Report*, said the money they raised undoubtedly helped elect some conservatives. "It was a tough year for them," he explained. "There were no Republican coattails to ride on and they needed help."

The central figure in the new right is Richard Viguerie, the direct mail specialist who was chief fundraiser for the George C. Wallace presidential campaign.

Viguerie's mailing lists, built over the past decade of work for private, as well as political clients, have been the basis for fundraising this year by three important new groups—the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress and the Gun Owners of America. None of these organizations existed in 1972. This year, each has already raised more than a million dollars.

Viguerie has moved beyond his traditional money-gathering function to a role as spokesman and organizer for the conservative cause in general. "I have raised tens of millions of dollars for the conservative movement over the years," Viguerie said, "and I am not happy with the results. I decided to become more concerned with how the money is spent."

Viguerie and his allies say other things are as important as raising money. "Our bag is organization," said Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival. He believes seminars and continuing advice for candidates and campaign managers are far more important than the dollar amount he gives away.

The National Committee for an Effective Congress, a liberal group that has researched the new right, filed a complaint against Viguerie's groups with the Federal Election Commission late in October. Under the new election law, a candidate can receive no more than \$5,000 from one source. The NCEC charged that the new right groups, each of which gave up to \$5,000 to several

candidates, are so intertwined that they should be considered as one committee.

"The complaint didn't really do any damage," Blackwell commented. Harold Wolff of NCEC concedes they probably didn't stop any last-minute campaign spending. "But two of their right-to-work organizations, Employee Rights Campaign Committee and Public Service Political Action Committee, will have to change their practices or go out of business," Wolff said. He charged that the committees receive corporate funds, which can't legally be used for campaign contributions, launder the funds and use them to solicit money for campaigns.

The rise of the new groups has caused some friction between them and the traditional conservative establishment in Washington, represented by the American Conservative Union and the publication *Human Events*. The traditional groups point to the low percentage of money raised that actually went to candidates and charge that the new groups are wasting contributors' money. The new groups, in turn, say their start-up costs are high and the services they provide are not counted as contributions.

Blackwell predicts the new right will be able to raise even more money and thus have more influence in the 1978 elections. "Unless Carter is a smashing success, which I doubt, there will be many more people giving money for '78," he predicts. "And conservatives today are more technologically proficient, better informed and more diverse than ever before."

## Immigration door swings closed

By the Washington Bureau

A new immigration bill will take effect Jan. 1. Called "noncontroversial" by its sponsors, the bill will effectively shut the door to tens of thousands of Latin Americans who previously would have been able to immigrate to the U.S.

The new bill introduces a quota system heavily balanced in favor of potential immigrants who are relatives of U.S. citizens and residents.

The bill will also cut immigration from Mexico by more than 50 percent through a provision that limits immigrants from any one country to 20,000.

It will make all forms of contract employment more difficult to obtain, thus discouraging immigrants—even professionals—from coming to the U.S.

Finally, it will eliminate a "special immigrant" status that allowed people from Western Hemisphere countries living in the U.S. without visas to seek residency upon the birth of children in this country.

The bill passed quietly by unanimous consent in both houses at the end of the session. Its House sponsors were careful to assure that it went through in a matter of minutes while members opposed to it were not present. Its most repressive measures were not mentioned in the

House report on the bill intended to explain it to members of Congress.

Of the "special immigrant" status provision, the report said the new bill was "consonant with the requirement in current law." Asked whether this could be considered anything but a lie, one congressional aide replied "no, not really."

Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.) wrote to President Ford urging him to veto the bill, arguing, "Your signature on the bill would cause the deportation of thousands of American-born children of illegal aliens." He also pointed out the bill could "damage relations" with Mexico. Nonetheless, Ford signed the bill.



# IN THE WORLD

## Foreign policy: a new reality, a new consensus

By T.D. Allman  
Pacific News Service

It was nearly 16 years ago that John F. Kennedy, preparing his inaugural address, told his speech writers, "Let's drop out the domestic stuff altogether."

So Kennedy summoned up his vision of American greatness by referring exclusively to foreign policy in his most famous speech. In those days it was believed the American dream could take care of itself. An American president's real task was to export the American way—to Vietnam, the Congo, Latin America.

This year the situation was almost totally reversed, as the recent presidential debate on foreign policy demonstrated. Both candidates, recognizing they had nothing to gain and much to lose by talking about faroff places, attempted not to turn foreign policy into the decisive issue of the campaign, but simply tried to avoid mistakes.

This did not prevent President Ford from making his incredible gaffe about Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. But it explained why President-elect Jimmy Carter failed to slash at the jugular, even when the president had exposed it.

Most striking in the debates was the absence, in both candidates' remarks, of the Promethean urge that dominated American foreign policy for nearly three decades after World War II.

Eighteen months after the final retreat from Saigon and Phnom Penh, the American global activism of the last quarter-century seems almost like a vanished dream. The country's major politicians recognized just how much the mood of the country has changed and their rhetoric reflected it.

The perils of campaigning on foreign policy issues in fact became obvious even during the primaries. The only other major Democratic phenomenon of the year, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., of California, like Carter, largely avoided foreign policy issues while addressing himself to America's evident need for internal self-reassurance.

On the Republican side, the role of foreign policy was much greater, with a near majority supporting former Gov. Ronald Reagan's call for a return to the hard line certainty of the past. But the end result was the same.

Another sign of the times is the fate of Henry A. Kissinger, the secretary of state. Only recently Kissinger was an international superstar. Observers freely predicted Ford would base his campaign on Kissinger's achievements. But that was all wrong and Kissinger is on his way out.

Americans instead are much more concerned about domestic problems like the economy—and even personal problems, as this year's most emotional debate, abortion, demonstrated. Abortion will probably turn out in retrospect to have been the nonissue the missile gap once was. But it is a fitting, indeed anatomical metaphor, for how American national concerns have turned inward.

Why did foreign policy matter so little in the present campaign? On one level it was because much of the public is profoundly alienated from foreign policy issues by the American defeat in Indochina, which shattered their faith in the morality of America's role in the world.

But foreign policy also matters little: the broad outlines are already clear, and so are many of the specific details.

Detente will continue, even if called by another name. The allies will not be abandoned. American Mideast policy will stay "evenhanded" in comparison to what it once was.

As in the past, the U.S. will ignore the problems of global poverty and injustice until it no longer can ignore them. When the U.S. does act imaginatively and constructively, the primary motivation will not be some new greening of American perceptions, but rather fear that the U.S.'s rivals will benefit from such crises if it does not first defuse them.

Carter will follow these policies for basically the same reason. The U.S. remains the world's single greatest power. But it is equally evident the excesses of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon did not just manage to extinguish the fervor in America's view of the world. They also pushed American foreign policy to a sense of the limits that constrain even the greatest of powers.

Today, as never before, this is a policy of limits—limits that in recent years have been discovered militarily in Indochina, economically in the Mideast and politically in America's relations with both its allies and the Soviet Union and China.

When a nation discovers that it no longer can remake the world, or even destabilize large parts of it, the national interest still remains. And it is demonstrably in the American national interest to get along with the rich and the powerful, to attempt to moderate crises it cannot control, and eventually even to come to terms with those who are more dangerous to the American conception of international stability when they are ostracized than when they are recognized diplomatically.

All this, of course, is a far cry from the foreign policy vision of Truman or Kennedy or even Nixon.

For that reason, this already has been the most important foreign policy election in America since 1948. The very absence of a foreign policy debate reflects a new consensus.

For the first time since the Cold War beginnings, it is the accepted political wisdom in the U.S. that it is its duty neither to police the world nor to redeem it. The limits of American foreign policy are clear.

American idealists may no more like the fact that America no longer is the missionary of democracy than American jingoists like the idea that the Panamanians eventually will get their canal. But the 1976 campaign has proven that most Americans—and hence the most astute of their leaders—now accept all this, even when they do not like it very much.

The real measure of new American foreign policy consensus came recently in New York, at the U.N. After vaguely threatening to veto Vietnam's application for membership, the Ford administration accepted a compromise that delayed the vote until after the elections.

In brief, Ford recognized he could only lose, whatever he did. So he did nothing. And the silence from the Carter camp confirmed the president's judgment.

As both candidates virtually conceded in their San Francisco debate, the next four years will likely see not only full diplomatic recognition of China and Vietnamese admission to the U.N., but a Communist Vietnamese ambassador in Washington as well.

The reason, as both candidates' remarks on the issue of Americans missing in action in Indochina demonstrated, is neither that old animosities to the Vietnamese Communists have been abandoned nor that the U.S. is developing a more positive policy toward Indochina. It is simply that the U.S., in Indochina as elsewhere, has little other choice. ■



An angry Ian Smith, the Rhodesian prime minister, stalks out of the Geneva conference earlier this month, claiming he was tired of "twiddling his thumbs" at the conference. He was back a few days later.  
—Photo by United Press International

## Rhodesia conference drags

Geneva. The slow-moving conference on Rhodesia's future has reached a crucial stage with discussion centered on a date for independence based on black majority rule.

The black and white delegates are searching for a compromise on three conflicting dates proposed for legal independence for the breakaway British colony.

The four nationalist delegates—Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkono, Bishop Abel

Muzorena and Rev. Noabani Sithole—are all demanding that the British sponsored conference, which began Oct. 20, should first fix a date for independence. This must be within 12 months, preferably Sept. 1, they say.

But the white minority Rhodesian government delegation says it would take about 23 months to complete all the necessary constitutional and legal steps leading to independence.

—Reuter

## U.N. assembly votes to embargo South Africa

By Banning Garrett  
Internews

The U.N. General Assembly last week approved by large majorities a series of resolutions aimed at isolating South Africa because of its system of Apartheid.

The voting Nov. 10 came after two weeks of debate. The U.S. abstained or voted no on virtually all the proposals, as did most other Western countries. The resolutions were backed overwhelmingly by Third World and socialist nations. The measures will be effective only insofar as the U.N. still has some moral authority. The U.S., Britain and France are certain to block any attempt to have the Security Council put teeth in the resolutions.

One resolution urged the council to

take urgent action barring arms sales to South Africa. The U.S. voted no on that one. Last month, the U.S. joined Britain and France to veto a similar council proposal.

Washington officially observes a voluntary arms embargo voted by the U.N. in 1963, although the Justice Department is investigating charges of illegal arms sales to South Africa.

For the first time the assembly endorsed "armed struggle" as a legitimate weapon in the hands of the oppressed people of South Africa.

And the assembly voted to set up a special committee to draft an international convention against apartheid in sports. The U.S. abstained on that one too. ■

## The new African reality

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's recent African excursion represents a major change in American policy that was virtually ignored in the recent election campaign. The new policy in apparent support of majority rule is a recognition of changing power relations in Africa and an attempt to maintain influence in the face of strengthened nationalist movements.

The new direction was mentioned once by President Ford during the campaign and he was roundly booed. During the campaign and since, President-elect Carter has avoided comment.

The political distance between Kissinger's new policies in Africa and the presidential campaign reflects a facing of reality in policy, but not yet in politics. ■



# Soviets adopt 5-year plan— heavy industry still rules

By Louis Menashe

"Pyatiletka" is colloquial Russian for a distinctly Soviet contribution to the language of socialism and economic development in the 20th century. The word means "five-year plan." Last month, the Supreme Soviet, the USSR's largely ceremonial equivalent of a national legislature, approved the 10th "pyatiletka," as proposed by the Brezhnev government's economic planners.

The USSR has come a long way since the Stalin leadership—with its characteristic bluster, coercion and intoxicating visions of national pride and power based on economic self-sufficiency—boomed out production targets for the first "pyatiletka" of 1928-32. There is still plenty of coercion under Brezhnev, a lot less bluster and as for intoxication, this regime is strictly teetotal.

The new plan, like the Brezhnev leadership itself, exudes sobriety and cautious confidence. There are no bangs here, and even a couple of whimpers.

The double-digit growth projections of the Stalin years have been replaced by an annual increase in national income pegged at 4.1 percent. Gone, too, is the pie-in-the-sky associated with Khrushchev, who boasted that a fully communist Russia would be outstripping U.S. production by the 1980s. Instead, fulfilling the current plan in 1980 would mean only parity with U.S. agricultural production for 1975 and would exceed U.S. industrial output, again only for 1975. (Soviet planners are planning for continuing stagnation in the U.S. economy.)

## ► Not so self-sufficient.

Nor do Soviet leaders any more stress self-sufficiency. Trade patterns with capital-

ist economies are far from reducing the USSR to a dependency status. Yet if trends continue, the economic costs of a break in trade with the West would be high.

It's not just American grain the USSR needs. This year's grain harvest is expected to be almost double the traumatically low yields of 1975. More important to modernizing Soviet economy is Western capital and know-how for major industrial projects and especially Western technological hardware, computers for instance.

These links to the West are at once the consequences of detente and the economic underpinnings to its politics and diplomacy.

Certain constants have operated in all Soviet plans and this one is no exception. Heavy industry remains the lodestone, sucking away rubles, supplies and labor from the consumer sector. In the feverish, super-industrializing environment of the Stalin period even basics like housing were neglected. An increasingly demanding Soviet public has forced planners to increase the volume and variety of consumer-targeted output. Still, things taken for granted in Chicago or Paris are rare or nonexistent in Moscow except to privileged functionaries with access to foreign goods. It will be a long time before the ordinary Muscovite, not to mention the collective farmer or a worker in Sverdlovsk, can get plastic diapers or a car. The new plan sets a modest growth rate for consumer goods of 4.9 percent, down from the previous plan's (unachieved) goals.

The continuing stress on heavy industry reflects a Soviet economic principle ever since Stalin: that a socialist society in an imperialist world must, as a condition of survival, generate heavy industri-

al production as quickly as possible. Accordingly, economic resources are skewed away from light industry and even away from agriculture.

## ► Different approach.

On this point, the Chinese (until Mao's death, at any rate) have had a radically different approach to economic development, emphasizing growth profiles where industry and agriculture are balanced.

Differences with the Chinese partly account for another constant in the present Soviet plan, a high military budget of \$23 billion for 1977—additional chunks of defense spending in the USSR are allocated among other programs, making the total figure higher. Huge defense expenditures is something a developing socialist economy can ill afford; more MIG25's mean less day-care centers.

So far, the new Chinese leadership has indicated no inclination to re-establish warm relations with Moscow, which it continues to brand as the center of counter-revolutionary social imperialism. There is speculation, however, that a new, "pragmatic" ruling group in Peking might begin flirting again with Moscow.

At the same time, a genuine detente might enable Soviet leaders to cut back on defense spending, although that appears unlikely.

Such eventualities might alter the shape of Soviet five-year plans, steering them clear of top-heavy industrial and military spending toward increased spending on social, medical and educational services. Still, whatever Peking or Washington does, the internal dynamics of the Soviet polity and economy impart their own say on such matters.

Menashe is a history professor at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute.

## Fair prices urged

United Nations. The industrialized nations should pay fairly for raw materials, not try to enforce cheap prices, and should attempt to expand trading opportunities for poorer nations, Sen. George McGovern, a U.S. delegate to the U.N., urged last week.

## Starvation feared

New York. More than a million Chilean children are facing starvation, according to *Parade*, the Sunday magazine. After 2½ years of military junta rule, infant mortality has risen to 63 for every thousand births, the magazine reports, claiming part of the reason can be directly attributed to social-welfare cuts by the Pinochet government.

## Mikis to Sweden

Athens, Greece. Mikis Theodorakis, the Marxist Greek composer, has said he is leaving Greece for Sweden because of threats against himself and his family that he says come from pro-Moscow Greek Communists. He has been associated with a Greek Communist group founded in 1968 as a "liberal Marxist" movement free of Soviet domination.

## U.S. aided Thais?

Princeton, N.J. A researcher at Princeton University's Center of International Studies, Michael Klare, reports that before the recent military coup in Thailand, the U.S. dramatically increased weapons and counterinsurgency aid to Thai military and police forces. Klare says the U.S. military aid stepup there seems almost identical in pattern to what happened in Chile before a junta overthrew and killed President Salvador Allende, the elected Marxist chief of state.

## Separatists ahead

Toronto, Canada. A poll published last week in the *Toronto Star* shows the Quebec party, which wants to separate Quebec from Canada, a clear favorite over the governing Liberal party in legislative elections Nov. 15. Fear of a separatist victory has caused the Canadian dollar to drop sharply recently on the New York foreign exchange market.

## Habash regretful

Beirut, Lebanon. George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has expressed regret that some Palestinian groups and leaders are prepared to negotiate a settlement with Israel. "It was once difficult to imagine that such a thing could happen one day," he told a pro-Palestinian newspaper.

## UNESCO sidesteps

Nairobi, Kenya. A public East-West clash at the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization general conference on the issue of press freedom has been effectively postponed for two years.

UNESCO's program commission, which deals with politically sensitive issues, last weekend voted 78 in favor and 15 against, with 16 abstentions, to send a Soviet-inspired draft declaration on mass media to a special negotiating group.

## Soares under fire

Lisbon. The Portuguese Socialist party's left wing, after getting an unexpected quarter of the votes in a national committee meeting at the second party congress a few weekends ago, is preparing a defense against a more recent setback.

Antonio Lopes Cardoso, the leader of the Marxist left wing, resigned his agriculture minister portfolio Nov. 3 in the wake of the support for Prime Minister Mario Soares' opposing views at the congress.

The left and right wing of the party, has been openly split for a month over the pace of socialization for the country.

Cardoso and the left have rebelled against a slowdown in the expropriation of farm lands and a crackdown by management on militant employees.

## Cunhal's hardline

Lisbon. Soviet and East German Communist leaders Nov. 12 praised Alvaro Cunhal, the Portuguese party leader, but warned against divisive tactics by anti-Communist forces.

Boris Ponomarev, Secretary of the Soviet party Central Committee and a delegate here, hailed Cunhal as a "personality of the international Communist movement known throughout the world."

At the opening session Nov. 11, Cunhal accused Portugal's Socialist government of encouraging capitalism. Cunhal made clear the party would not follow parties such as Italy's, which have publicly criticized the Kremlin and cooperate with non-Communist parties.

—Reuter

## Halt hanging, Devlin says

By the Washington Bureau

Washington. Bernadette Devlin, former member of Parliament from Northern Ireland, is back in the U.S. to publicize the case of Noel and Marie Murray, who are sentenced to be hanged Nov. 20 in the Republic of Ireland.

The Murrays were convicted and sentenced July 9 for bank robbery and the murder of an off-duty policeman in September 1975. They appeared before a three-judge Special Criminal Court, a structure created in 1972 to circumvent jury trials.

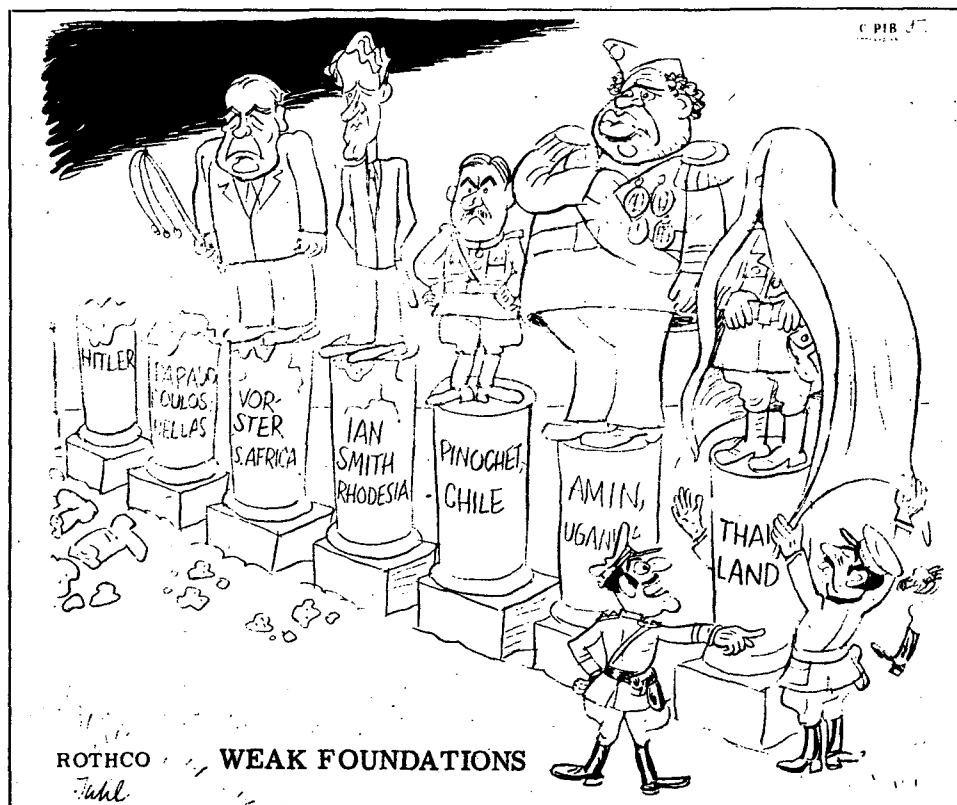
The only evidence against them was their confession, extracted after seven days of interrogation without a lawyer. The Murrays quickly repudiated their

confession, which even the commercial press speculates may have been the result of interrogation and torture.

According to Devlin, the Murrays were denied the right to be present during much of their trial. Seamus Sorahan, their lawyer, was so appalled by the judicial practices that he asked to withdraw on ethical grounds. He was refused permission by the court.

Devlin estimated that half the people in Ireland were unaware the Murrays are scheduled to be hanged, even though there have been no executions in Ireland for 22 years.

She is speaking in six U.S. cities, asking audiences to cable the Justice Minister, Republic of Ireland, 71-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, Ireland.





# China's contradictions home to roost

By Nancy Dall Milton  
And David Milton

Berkeley, Calif.

If politics consisted of no more than personalities, then China observers would have to face the possibility that the decade of revolutionary turmoil begun in 1966 and familiar to the world as Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had arrived at its Thermidor.

The major theme of the Western press is simply that Mao is dead and his revolution has died with him. It is a theme not lightly dismissed when verified by the emergence of a post-Mao leadership made up of Communist party veterans and army men who have acted decisively to arrest Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing and the last three national leaders who are symbols of that revolution.

The apparent finality of these events is reinforced by pictures of the new party of "order." That party confidently presides over massive demonstrations of enthusiastic Chinese called forth to celebrate the Central Committee's decision to preserve the former chairman's body in a "crystal sarcophagus," while it arrests his relatives and personally appointed radical political successors.

The most dramatic and, at the same time, simplest aspect of the Chinese puzzle, then, is the question of the political actors contesting for the most prominent position on the stage. The deeper aspects of the Chinese political future must await the unfolding of events, however.

Beginning with the mysterious demise of Lin Biao, the former defense minister, in 1971, Chinese politics has been characterized not by the mass struggles of the Cultural Revolution, but by secret leadership struggles followed by mass repudiation of those overthrown.

Whatever the explanation of his death, it seems clear that Lin was overthrown in a policy struggle heavily involved with foreign policy. Although the precise nature of the disagreement may never be known, what is known is that Lin was associated with the strategy of "Long Live the Victory of People's War," advocating opposition to both superpowers. His fall was closely associated with the opening to the U.S. and the designation of the Soviet Union as China's main enemy.

## ► Mao backed Teng's reemergence.

The re-emergence upon Lin's fall of Teng Hsiao-p'ing after his Cultural Revolution repudiation could only have been the responsibility of Mao himself, for no other political force had the power to rehabilitate Teng. The decision to do so was undoubtedly closely related to the high priority that Mao gave to his new foreign policy. With Teng, thousands of other party officials disgraced in the Cultural Revolution returned to power.

And Mao's cherished domestic revolutionary policies inevitably eroded.

The inherent contradiction in Mao's foreign and domestic policies became the central factor in exacerbated pendulum swings that affected the Chinese leadership as Mao became dissatisfied first with one side and then the other.

It was no doubt his concern over oscillation of the pendulum that led Premier Chou En-lai, in the year and a half he lay dying of cancer, to attempt to form a government made up of both party veterans, including Teng, and Cultural Revolution radicals, including the four just overthrown. This coalition was smashed immediately after Chou's death with the overthrow of Teng and the discrediting of those associated with him by the now-defeated radical leadership.

The popular culmination of this event was the demonstration of 100,000 people in T'ien An Men Square in April. Unofficially, but reliably reported as a spontaneous mass outpouring for Chou when

wreaths in his memory were removed from the monument to the Revolution's martyrs, it was officially labelled a "counter-revolutionary" demonstration in support of Teng. Several students arrested as leaders were shot. It is impossible to explain public acceptance of the overthrow of the radical four without taking into account the smoldering mass outrage over this incident.

## ► Two symbols.

The latest leadership struggle has manipulated two primary symbols.

One is Chou, beloved by the most diverse Chinese groups and factions, one of the few giants of the Chinese Communist party to stand with Mao throughout the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath. It was attacks on him, by the Cultural Revolution group ultraleftists, spearheaded by Chiang that split the forces of the Cultural Revolution into a breach that was never healed. And it was their attacks after his death that people could not forgive.

The other symbol is Chiang herself who is, quite simply, the most universally hated figure in the Chinese leadership. There was little question that her political demise would follow Mao's death; it was only a question of when and how she would be retired.

The story of Chiang's unpopularity is entangled with a central problem of the Cultural Revolution itself—namely Mao's difficulty in forming a rebel leadership competent to lead his struggle against the formidably competent party leadership. As he himself said, when he described his Cultural Revolution plan, "I was alone." History may question the wisdom or feasibility of Mao's decision to open a political battle of such magnitude without a leadership corps capable of leading it, but the fact remains that he did so. His heretical concept that the forces that subvert socialism into capitalism are to be found in the growth of an elite within the party itself is now a part of world thought.

It may be fairly said, however, that although Mao raised the question, he did not find an answer. The first historical attempt to put his theoretical concept into practice was, and is, beset with problems and the leadership problem was one of the serious ones. Mao put together a Cultural Revolution leading group from among intellectuals untried in the arena of real politics and from a few personal allies, including family members.

Chiang was the most symbolic of these, through her relationship with Mao, and at the same time the weakest in leadership. As Chiang's lack of legitimacy was proven by her actions, this was no doubt reinforced by widespread public knowledge of the political agreement that had sought to limit this very legitimacy. In Yenan in the 1940's Mao's decision to divorce the wife whose health had been destroyed on the Long March and marry a Shanghai movie starlet, Chiang, was met by his comrades with vigorous disapproval.

Mao's commitment to them to keep his new wife out of politics was maintained until 1962 when Chiang's prominence as a revolutionizer of culture presaged both the Cultural Revolution itself and her new role.

## ► The Witke book.

In an attempt to rewrite both her early history and her Cultural Revolution role, Chiang, in the new era opened by the Nixon visit to Peking, imitated Mao's historic talks with author Edgar Snow and gave to Roxanne Witke, a young American China scholar, an unprecedented, week-long exclusive interview. Although the Witke book is not due to be published by Little, Brown, and Co. until next spring, it is already known



Hua Kuo-feng, successor to Mao Tse-tung as Chinese Communist party chairman, waves to a crowd recently from atop T'ien An Men Square in Peking.

Photo by United Press International

that Chiang's presentation of her role in China's history, including the Cultural Revolution, is greatly distorted to the credit of herself and the discredit of other figures whose real roles are well-known in both China and the West.

Thus, Chiang's political demise is relatively clear. Yao Wen-yuan is widely regarded as her protege.

Wang Hung-wen and Chiang Ch'un-ch'iao are another matter.

Wang, a 40-year-old former Shanghai worker, was elevated by Mao a few years ago as a representative of the young successors of the Cultural Revolution.

Chiang is a man of impressive political background who emerged from the dynamic Shanghai Cultural Revolution as Shanghai's outstanding leader. In the weeks following Mao's death, some predicted him as a possible premier.

There is no doubt the four were political associates, but whether the hatred of Chiang Ch'ing is a convenient means of the new leadership's sweeping away their opposition is a real question. The Shanghai population, contrary to expectation, did not protest.

## ► People are exhausted.

The problems in the aftermath of the still-incomplete Cultural Revolution are serious ones. People are exhausted from the politics of the last decade—both from the real struggles of the '60s and from the successive leadership shocks and reversals of the '70s.

Many questions raised by the Cultural Revolution are unresolved and the radicals have clearly failed to come forward with dynamic programs in many contested areas, particularly culture and education. "Destruction before construction" was a Cultural Revolution slogan, but in many fields construction has not taken place.

The Hua-Kuo-feng government's announcement of a return to the spirit of Lu Hsun in the arts will surely be greeted with joy after the deadening dogmatism that has prevailed under Chiang's hand.

However, in the field of education, the questions that aroused the passions of millions a decade ago have not disappeared.

Who will occupy the precious and relatively few university student slots?

How will they be selected?

When they become the new professionals, what will their relationships be to the rest of Chinese society?

The new government has already clearly indicated its bent toward productivity and technical expertise, but the problem of how to achieve these ends without following the Soviet path has preoccupied millions of Chinese for many years.

The working class, which made known its dissatisfactions the past few years by

widespread strikes and slowdowns, is no doubt very different from the disciplined one that entered the Cultural Revolution a decade ago with unquestioning party support.

The question still is, by what means.

China's byzantine leadership struggles during the past few years represent a resurgence of the past into the vacuum left by the Cultural Revolution's failure to create a structural replacement for the Soviet-type party.

Mao's primary concern, however, was with the problem of consciousness and it is here, in the Chinese peoples' consciousness—experienced in politics as few citizenries have ever been—that the key to China's future direction will be found. ■

The Miltons are authors of *The Wind Will Not Subside* (Pantheon, \$4.95 softcover) and coeditors, with Franz Schurmann, of *People's China* (Random House). Both taught in Peking from 1964 to 1969.

## China-Soviet relations

Moscow. China's new leadership told the Soviet Union that quarrels on "questions of principle" between the two countries should not hinder relations at state and government level.

The Chinese statement came in a message from Peking to Moscow congratulating the Soviet people on the 59th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Nov. 7.

The next day, however, China resumed its verbal assault against the Soviets at the U.N., describing as "humbug" Moscow's claim that the Communist bloc in Europe is a voluntary union of sovereign states. China's Ambassador denounced Soviet disarmament proposals as fraudulent and said Moscow's talk of detente is empty and deceptive.

—Reuters

## Radicals must confess

Manila. Filipino journalists visiting Peking have been told Mao Tse-tung's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, and three other accused radicals would not be executed, Manila newspapers have reported. Tan Chen-lin, vice chairman of China's National People's Congress, told journalists last week the four would be treated leniently so long as they confessed to their crimes, reports said. He said the four must admit their crimes so their confessions could be announced. Tan told journalists a most intensive struggle had been waged against the four in the Chinese Communist party for 10 years. The world, not just China, would have been adversely affected if the four had prevailed, he added.

—Reuters



# \$20 Million in Green Garbage Bags

*How some 50,000 tenants effectively challenged New York state housing authorities by conducting the longest rent strike in American history*

By Robert Friedman

The office of board chairman of Riverbay Corp.—the company that manages the country's largest housing project—is not your average executive suite. There are no oriental rugs on the linoleum floor, no expensive paintings hanging on the cinderblock walls, no panoramic picture windows in this 8-by-10-foot basement cubicle. Behind the desk, the only piece of furniture in the room, sits Charlie Rosen. Dressed in jeans and a red, flowered shirt, his bushy hair prematurely graying, the 34-year-old Rosen is not your average board chairman. Only a few months ago, he was leading a massive rent strike, involving some 50,000 tenants, that effectively challenged New York state housing authorities and forced his Riverbay predecessors into early retirement.

Then again, Coop City is not your average housing project. It is to urban dwellings what the World Trade Center is to office buildings. Colossal: 35 towers, an average of 30 stories each, rising like a concrete forest on 300 acres in the northeast corner of the Bronx; three shopping centers servicing 60,000 people living in 15,382 apartments; a city within a city. Whatever problems may be characteristic of housing projects around the country, they are writ large at Coop City.

#### ►Built on garbage.

When first conceived, the project seemed positively utopian. It was to be a haven for thousands of lower- and middle-income whites, many of them Jewish and veterans of trade union movements, who were trapped in decaying Bronx neighborhoods. Rents were almost too good to believe—\$23 a room a month—subsidized by the state to the project's developer, the United Housing Foundation. And, best of all, Coop City was to be community-owned and -operated by tenants.

In this spirit of public do-goodism, on a spring morning in 1966, at the groundbreaking ceremony for Coop City, Robert Moses, the New York master builder who had first envisioned the project, congratulated Nelson Rockefeller, the governor who had pushed through a \$250,000,000 state mortgage to finance construction,

who, in turn, congratulated Jacob Potofsky, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and a UHF director. Everyone was happy.

But that was long before the first refugees from East Tremont and the Grand Concourse emigrated to Coop City, long before the project was plagued by cost-overruns and burdensome debts, long before the rents began to rise. If anyone had bothered to examine what was in that first spadeful of dirt shovelled by Rockefeller and Moses, they might have been able to foresee Coop City's problems. The housing project was built on garbage—literally (millions of cubic yards of it had been used as landfill to convert a swamp into a valuable piece of real estate) and figuratively.

A class-action suit, brought by Coop City tenants and currently pending before the state Supreme Court, charges that the foundation entered into financial arrangements with a network of wholly owned subsidiaries, like Riverbay Corp., to construct, manage and underwrite Coop City insurance and that these contracts resulted in hundreds of thousands of dollars going to fill the pockets of developers and friends.

As Rosen put it, "This place was built on a gigantic ripoff."

The cost of this cronyism was passed along to tenants. As the Coop City price-tag grew, Riverbay returned to the state to borrow more money, eventually increasing its debt to \$436,000,000. And, to meet spiraling mortgage payments, rents were raised. By 1974, the cost of a room had climbed from \$23 to \$43. For many residents, retired and living on fixed incomes, it was a difficult burden to carry. In the spring of 1975, faced with the prospect of defaulting, Riverbay increased rents to \$53 a room, more than double what they had been just five years before. This time, tenants—who had never been consulted about rent policies despite the promise that Coop City would be cooperatively managed—said no.

#### ►A good place to organize.

In June, 1975, they began what was to become the largest rent strike in American history. Tables were set up in the lobbies of all 35 buildings and tenants were asked

to deposit rent checks in green-plastic garbage bags. To the surprise of the steering committee that had organized the strike, more than 80 percent of the Coop City families participated in the protest that first month.

Nathalia Lange, a former organizer for the United Electrical Workers Union and an early strike leader remembers those first days well.

"Whatever else you might say about Coop City," she said, "it's a good place for organizing. Everyone has to pass through those lobbies twice a day. The strike brought this community together for the first time. There was a feeling of camaraderie. It gave people something to do, some meaning to their lives. It made the old young."

The strike lasted 13 months—into this summer. During that time, the steering committee collected more than \$20,000,000 in rents, which it squirreled away in secret hiding places around Coop City. The Riverbay directors quit, leaving management of the project in the hands of the state. Maintenance workers were laid off, buildings went unrepaired and Con Edison threatened to pull the plug. The state Housing Finance Agency began foreclosure proceedings against Coop City for default on mortgage payments and said it would evict all tenants if necessary. Gov. Hugh Carey, who had campaigned at Coop City on a platform of keeping rents down, was faced with a politically embarrassing situation. Strike leaders were held in contempt of court, running up fines of \$235,000 apiece and \$3,000,000 against the committee. Through it all, the strikers' solidarity was unbroken.

At the end of June, an agreement was reached ending the impasse, at least temporarily. The striking committee agreed to turn over the \$20,000,000 in rent checks that it held and to meet monthly mortgage payments of \$2,360,000. In exchange, Riverbay control was turned over to tenants for a six-month trial period to see whether Coop City could be run more economically under tenant management. Overnight the committee became the new Riverbay directors. And Rosen became board chairman. His first announcement: rents would be held at \$43 a room.

When I spoke with Rosen, three months of the trial period had already passed. Though he clearly enjoyed his new job (he has taken a leave of absence from the *New York Post* where he worked as a printer), he was cautious about the future and mindful of the limitations of his power.

"We are not off the strike," Rosen said. "What we have is not a settlement, but a truce in place. This office is just a temporary headquarters. The only thing I brought with me are these pictures of my two kids. If the state decides we've failed, then we go back on strike and carry on the fight from another trench."

***Riverbay control was for a six month trial. Coop City could be under tenant manage.***

Whatever authority Rosen and the new tenant management have is circumscribed by the state. Every new contract, every major decision must be submitted to state housing officials for approval. And Carey, not Coop residents, will be the ultimate arbiter, the one who decides whether to make the temporary settlement a permanent one.

"We understand that we are merely government operatives during this period," Rosen explained. "And they come out smelling good no matter what happens. If we prove that we can run this place, the state gains because they were unable to run it before. If we fail, the state also gains because they will have exposed all us radicals as incompetent."

"But we're not as stupid as they think. We've got nothing to hide: The state has a shoddy history here to cover up."

#### ►Managing the city.

To come up with a plan for Coop City's financial stability, Rosen and his board began by looking into what had gone before. They ran into their first obstacle: There had been no audited statements of





Charlie Rosen: "You think Roosevelt made a New Deal in one day?"

Photo by Frank Toepke

Riverbay finances for two years. They tried to untangle the relationship between the state, Riverbay and Con Edison to understand why a \$27,200,000 power plant—capable of supplying all of Coop City's electrical needs at a cost substantially lower than Con Edison, had been built at Coop City and then left virtually inoperative. Upgrading the power plant and transferring ownership to the state in return for a reduction in Coop City's mortgage is, Rosen believes, the key to keeping rents down.

But the board's first order of business was to repair Coop City. Disbelievers have always taunted radicals with the

laundry critic: "You're supposed to load the new machines to the top."

Though laundry machines and broken locks seem uppermost in many tenants' minds, not all problems facing Rosen have been as easily solved as ring around the collar.

In September, he faced his first crisis when contract negotiations with Coop City's building maintenance workers collapsed. It was a sudden role reversal for the rent strike leader to be sitting at a bargaining table playing the part of management. Rosen had asked the union, Local 32E of the Building Services Employees Union, to put off demands for a wage increase for six months until the new tenant management could better evaluate its financial position. The union responded that they didn't care who was sitting in management's chair; they wanted a cost-of-living increase. Rosen said there simply wasn't enough money. The union voted to strike.

It was over in 24 hours. The union got almost everything it had asked for and, on one issue—rehiring of laid-off workers—even more than it had bargained for.

Rosen, despite his initial hard line, seemed pleased with the way things turned out.

"It wasn't all that difficult sitting on the other side of the table," he said. "I believed all along that the workers deserved an increase. And they ended up with the best contract they had ever gotten. Our relations with the union were amicable throughout."

Jacques Buitenkant, general counsel for Local 32E, shared Rosen's assessment: "It was a peculiar situation, the trade union movement meeting head-on with the cooperative movement. But Charlie Rosen and his people definitely understood our problem. In the end, it was actually quite congenial."

►The issue of race appears.

Even more embarrassing than the strike was a charge levelled a few weeks later by the Urban League's Open Housing Center. The league claimed that Coop City apartment rentals under the new management were racially discriminatory and that a quota system limiting the black population to 30 percent was in effect.

"The first I heard of these accusations was when I read them in the *New York Times*, Rosen remarked. "I went through the ceiling. None of it had any validity."

As it turned out, no quota system was in effect, no one had made a formal complaint to the Urban League and there had been no investigation of the charges. But several discussions among board members about instituting a quota system had taken place and word of these talks had filtered back to the league.

Rosen said that he had met with the New York city human rights commissioner to find out "whether it was possible to talk about a race-stabilization program without it being inherently racist." Under federal guidelines, a coop may establish such a program to preserve an integrated community or to prevent re-segregation.

Race is a touchy subject at Coop City. No one seems to know exactly how large the black population is, but estimates place it at about 20 percent. Many of the whites who moved to Coop City were fleeing neighborhoods that were or were becoming predominantly black. They tend to see their housing project as a white enclave. Even within Coop City, a large percentage of the blacks live in Section No. 5, physically separated from the rest of the project.

"There has always been a commitment to integrated housing here," said Ira Rich, editor of the *Coop City Times*, one of the two weekly newspapers published in the project. "But, if the population tipped over 50 percent black, you would see a big exodus of whites."

During the rent strike, blacks and whites worked together. But the quota controversy has created some divisiveness. A recent letter in the *Coop City Times* from the Black Caucus, one of several minority organizations at the project, said: "A majority of the black community supported the rent strike and its leaders. For the board to even consider establishing racial quotas while there are hundreds of vacant apartments here is counterproductive and a slap in the face to every black family living here."

Rosen is sensitive about the subject. He was active in the '60s civil rights movement and is particularly proud of the racial

harmony at Coop City during the strike.

"I resent having to live with charges of being a racist," he said. "I usually believe charges of housing discrimination and I take the routine denials as proof that they're true. But these charges are just total irresponsibility on the part of the Urban League. They've admitted to me and to black groups at Coop City that there was no basis for them, but the stigma remains."

►Time is the adversary.

The problems facing the tenant management board at Coop City—from racial balance to labor costs to keeping laundry rooms operating—are the same as those confronting every urban landlord, every housing project around the country. What is unique about Coop City is that for the first time people who live there are taking control of their lives. The exhilaration and the frustration that goes along with that are in the air. A man in the Riverbay Corp. waiting room complains how hard it is to get to see Charlie these days. A woman in her 60s tells me over a cup of coffee that she came to realize during the strike that the real enemy was the state government and the local political machine. A tenant at the weekly board meeting is outraged that he's had so much trouble getting an apartment for his sister.

"You call this a New Deal?" he asks.

"You think Roosevelt made a New Deal in one day? Rosen quips.

Or six months? Time is as much an adversary as the state. There simply aren't enough days left to untangle the Coop City financial web and to weave a new design. For Coop City's problems are much larger than Coop City. They involve a burdensome state debt, a powerful power company, steadily rising costs, insensitive politicians and a society that cares little for its elderly and less for its minorities.

In another sense, though, time is on the tenants' side. Carey, it would seem, has little choice but to extend the truce and allow Coop City to go on managing itself. His only alternative is to evict 60,000 people who like it where they are. And, if the strike is any lesson, they will not be easily moved.

ned over to tenants  
ood to see whether  
more economically  
it

question: Who's going to pick up the garbage after the revolution?

At Coop City, it was laundry machines rather than garbage, but the problem was the same. By the end of the strike, when Riverbay was barely providing maintenance, most of the project's thousand washing machines were out of order. After the settlement, the board immediately began negotiating with a laundry company to install new machines. Still, not everybody was happy. At a recent weekly board meeting (Riverbay Corp. previously held closed board meetings four times a year at company offices in lower Manhattan, 15 miles from Coop City), a number of tenants voiced complaints about the new machines. One elderly man was angry that the washing machines cost more to operate, that they held smaller loads and that the washing cycle was seven minutes shorter. "For the first time," he said accusingly, "I had ring around the collar."

Rosen, who plays loving grandson to Coop City's 12,000 senior citizens and is doted on by them in return, silenced the



# Korean CIA

Continued from cover

Myung Moon—and top officials of the KCIA to plan the many-faceted lobbying campaign. The meeting occurred shortly after the announcement that the Nixon administration was planning to reduce the number of U.S. troops in South Korea and at a time when President Park was preparing to tighten his grip on Korea by taking absolute power for himself.

American intelligence services apparently learned of the meeting and plan through electronic eavesdropping devices placed in the Korean president's mansion, the Blue House.

In December 1973 American customs officials photocopied a memo in Tongsun Park's possession when he entered the U.S. at Anchorage, Alaska. The memo contained a list of 90 members of Congress who were apparently marked for contributions. So far, Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards, Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.), Rep. John J. McFall (D-Calif.), and former Rep. Jerome Waldie (D-Calif.) have admitted receiving money from Tongsun Park, with nine more named and at least a dozen unnamed present and former members of Congress also under investigation.

## ►More than one Santa Claus.

However, Tongsun Park is not the only Santa Claus in the story. According to testimony before a House subcommittee by Jai Hyon Lee, a Korean diplomat who received political asylum here in June of 1973, the station chief of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) briefed the embassy staff on an "overall scheme of clandestine operations to mute criticism of Park's totalitarianism and to buy off its supporters in the United States."

Lee characterized the plan as a "highly sophisticated one that was based on the three basic techniques of seduction, payoff and intimidation."

"This phase of the operation," Lee testified, "was almost entirely left to the ambassador," Dong Jo Kim. Lee has since stated he saw Dong stuffing \$100 bills into plain white envelopes and departing for Capitol Hill. "I never asked him who he gave the money to," Lee told the *Washington Star*. "But I knew the Capitol was not a banking institution."

The recipients of the Korean generosity appear to have been selected for various reasons. Some, like Gov. Edwards and Rep. McFall, have influence in rice-producing areas of the U.S. The contribution to Mr. Waldie was delivered during the ex-congressman's campaign for the governorship of California, home of an 80,000-strong Korean community, which is closely watched and reportedly tightly controlled by the KCIA.

In other cases the payments were perhaps in gratitude for a job well done. Before the Fraser Committee hearings on human rights in South Korea, Rep. William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.), one of those named as under investigation, stated: "I don't think we need to spend too much time debating what the govern-

ment is doing in Korea. President Park believes his country's security is threatened by a hostile North Korea, and he has acted forcefully to tighten discipline internally." At another point in the hearings, Broomfield inserted an official statement of the South Korean embassy into the hearing record.

## ►Only the tip of the iceberg.

But the congressional influence-peddling of Tongsun Park is only the tip of the KCIA iceberg. According to Prof. Gregory Henderson of Tufts University, Park Chung Hee has turned "the regular diplomatic and civil service officers into a sort of auxiliary KCIA, forcing them in some instances...to perform dirty tricks for the real KCIA. With powerful allies paid off by Tongsun Park, KCIA agents have been able to set up newspapers, academic conferences and foundations; stage demonstrations and carry out harassment and intimidation of anti-Park Chung Hee Koreans and Korean-Americans.

Kim Woon-Ha, former President of the Korean Journalists Association and editor of *New Korea* in Los Angeles, told the Fraser subcommittee about KCIA agents operating out of the large Korean consulate in Los Angeles who tried to frighten away his advertisers and distributors by threat and bribe. Kim went on to say that the KCIA is "creating a prison-type atmosphere for many Koreans living in the U.S. just as they have done in Korea.... Los Angeles is not American territory to Korean-Americans; it has become rather a territory of South Korea.

## ►U.S. money used for bribes.

The activities of the KCIA are so shady and circular that it is often difficult to distinguish the operations themselves from their financing. For example, Tongsun Park's largesse may have been instrumental in obtaining for South Korea a very large share of U.S. government subsidized rice sales under the Food for Peace program. Tongsun Park collected huge commissions on these same transactions, thus effectively financing his pay-offs with American tax money.

"The KCIA has played an enormous role in Korea in connection with business and trade," explained Donald Ranard, former director of the State Department's office of Korean Affairs. "This is attractive....in terms of personal graft, but it is also a large source of operating funds."

Another example of the relationship between the American government and the Korean regime is the long-standing U.S. Army tolerance of collusive bidding practices by KCIA-controlled Korean contractors providing goods and services to American forces in Korea. The structure is maintained through a variety of bewildering fronts and enforcement arms such as the Physical Fitness Association headed by President Park's chief personal bodyguard. According to a U.S. Army procurement report released recently, fake bidding creates a \$15-25 million annual

extra profit for Korean companies. The KCIA was probably the beneficiary of portions of this surplus.

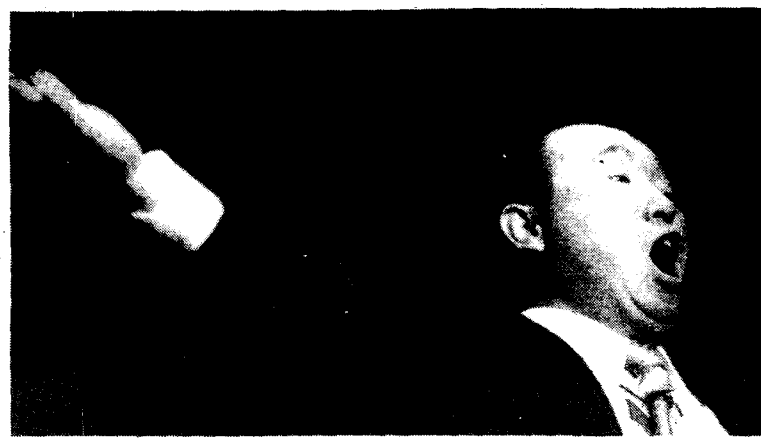
These practices have gone on since 1962, and protests were raised beginning in 1967, according to the Army. But despite "substantial time and energy trying to combat and outwit" the graft, *The New York Times* reports that the only result has been a KCIA retreat into a more camouflaged position.

## ►Cultural and Freedom Foundation.

The KCIA-centered network also raises money through direct appeals for contributions in the United States. The Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, founded in 1965 by Sun Myung Moon and his interpreter, the former military intelligence officer Col. Bo Hi Pak, has raised millions of dollars through mail appeals for anticommunist radio broadcasts. The KCFF claims that it will help win the release of prisoners of war in Vietnam, and give aid to starving children in the Philippines.

One of KCFF's projects, Radio of Free Asia (RFA) (which included Tongsun Park on its letterhead), began to attract State Department and congressional suspicion as early as 1970. Ranard, the former State Department official, testified in March of 1976 that "intelligence was part of why the funds were being raised." Curiously enough, RFA's tax returns for the early 1970s listed no expenses for broadcasting. When pressed, the foundation's executive director, D.L. Miller acknowledge that bookkeeping was "a problem."

The Children's Relief Fund, another offshoot of KCFF, engaged in even more manipulative propaganda. Urgent appeals to



—photo by UPI

## Rev. Moon's pro-Nixon rallies paid for by KCIA

Pro-Nixon demonstrations organized by followers of Rev. Sun Myung Moon during the Watergate hearings were, in fact, ordered by the Korean CIA, the *Washington Post* reported Nov. 7. According to the *Post* the KCIA asked Moon aide Bo Hi Pak to arrange demonstrations in support of Nixon in 1973 and 1974.

Justice Department investigators are reportedly looking into Pak's and Moon's role in the demonstration in connection with an investigation of efforts by South Korean agents to man-

ipulate public opinion and influence Congress with cash gifts and campaign contributions.

Pak, a former South Korean intelligence officer and head of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation in Washington has denied any current connection with the KCIA.

Neil Salonen, president of Moon's Unification Church, admitted that the demonstrations were sponsored by the National Prayer and Fast Committee, an offshoot of the church, but also denied any KCIA connection. ■

save 350,000 starving Filipino children brought in \$1.3 million to CRF last year, but only \$122,673 (eight cents of each dollar raised) ever got to the children. The rightwing Richard A. Viguier Co. in McLean, Va., was paid \$908,000 for direct mail campaigns, and \$100,000 went to two firms run by officers of KCFF, according to records on file with the New York State Auditor.

Meanwhile, \$750,000 left over in KCFF coffers last year was earmarked for the National Folk Ballet of Korea, which accompanied Sun Myung Moon in rallies in the U.S.

Many of these revelations are not new. Some have been known for years, buried in obscure reports and files. What is new is that they are all coming to the fore now. The question remains, why? ■

If You've Been Reading  
**THE NATION**  
Every Week  
For The  
Past 111 Years

Then, starting back in 1865, right to the present era of Corporation-dominated America, you have not only kept fully abreast of political and social events... but you have also had a refreshing, independent, and venturesome perspective of the undercurrents—the dynamics—of events. Also, you've been getting a straightforward analysis and review of literature, music, poetry, theatre, TV, films, art and dance.

You have been reading comment by such of our contributors as William Butler Yeats, Ralph Nader, Henry James, Elizabeth Holtzman, Leon Trotsky, Carey McWilliams, John Dos Passos, Corliss Lamont, Andre Malraux, George McGovern, Thomas Mann, Emile Capouya, Robert Frost, Robert Sherrill, Emily Dickinson, and a sparkling lot of other writers and thinkers.

The Nation, America's oldest weekly, has been ahead of the news ever since its first issue in 1865

**If You Haven't Been Reading The NATION For The Past 111 Years**

Get with it — Subscribe today!

Please enter a subscription to **The Nation** as checked below for  
☐ 1 year (47 issues) \$21.00 ☐ 2 years (94 issues) \$37.00

Name (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send a gift subscription to

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**NATION**

Th

333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014

Add \$1.00 per year for Canada and Mexico; add \$2.00 per year for all other foreign subscriptions.

When  
Subscribing  
You May  
Send One  
Or More  
Gift  
Subscriptions  
For Just  
\$18.00 Each



# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## You must be a pinko breaker

The citizen's band radio boom is evidence that a lot of people in America want to say something. Anything, it seems. Although equipment manufacturers exaggerate the number of CB'ers the way the Pentagon used to falsify body counts, Federal Communications Commission statistics for CB licensing are staggering. With 20,000,000 CB'ers loose in the nation already (a half-million new ones last month alone), America is a land whose ears are up. Comparisons are made to the samizdat underground press in the Soviet Union. Both are democratic communications methods that are beyond government control.

In *These Times'* CB columnist calls himself the (Screaming) Montana Jackalope. He is a Teamster and, since the Vietnam war, a social activist. Ask what a jackalope is and you will get one of the oldest house jokes in the West. See the accompanying photograph.

By Steve Chapple

Back in the spring of 1972 when former President Nixon mined Haiphong Harbor and crazy-bombed Hanoi, I didn't own a citizen's band radio. I hadn't even heard of the old CB. But I wanted to get the word out on how me and my friends felt about the war.

I was driving days between Denver and Cheyenne, Wyo., for Consolidated Freightways then and I didn't have time to go to any demonstrations, even if somebody had invited me, which they hadn't.

So some of us hit upon the idea of calling up the radio talk shows

in Denver, late at night after we'd put to rest a couple of beers.

Sometimes the callers would already be rattling about the war and we'd be able to throw our two cents in slick and easy. Most of the time we'd have to be a little rude and interrupt: "Damn! You folks talking about dating bars (or some such) and that man Nixon just bombed North Vietnam?"

When the *Pentagon Papers* came out, I discovered we were pretty benign propagandists compared to the CIA. They had kicked off the war in 1954 by dropping leaflets on Catholic villages in North Vietnam that were allegedly sent straight from Christ Himself. "Jesus Christ has moved south to Saigon," the leaflets said. Really. This was called "black propaganda" in CIA lingo because the sender was disguised. What we had been doing was purely "white propaganda." Kid stuff.

Well, my experience with white propaganda prepared me for a CB visit to San Francisco last week. As I was sliding up and down the crooked streets gawking at the bright colors on the wooden houses and counting the number of "vato" street rods with 102-inch whips waving to me from the bumpers, I noticed a lot of T-shaped signs shining from windows.

Now I always thought "T" stood for Texas and "T" stood for Tennessee and I suppose you did too if you listen to Waylon Jennings or Jimmie Rodgers much. So I grabbed the power mike, put her to the road channel, Channel 19, and let out a good rodeo shout: "EEEEEEEE-AAAAAAAHHHH! You

got the (Screamin') Montana Jackalope on the line, breakin' for a little local info!"

"Calm down, Breaker," came a voice clear as the desert at dawn. "You're in the big city now, and you got the one all-American." The all-American was slamming in at a good 9 pounds.

"I know where I am, you copy. I want to know what is this 'T-T-T' I see everywhere. Come on back."

"Hey, guy, those 'T's' stand for Proposition T, District election of Supervisors. Supes are the same as city councilors most places. Right now they get elected at-large here, which means the big downtown corporations can pump a few hundred grand into the elections and put their rich-synps into office. Voting yes on 'T' means you want to see the supes elected from neighborhood districts. Nine of 11 supervisors live in the richest parts of town, like Pacific Heights, and none hail from the working-class districts, like the Sunset or the Mission, where you're modulating from now."

"You must be a pinko Breaker," I said.

"10-4," he said.

"10-7," I said and cut out.

"Well, I'm easily convinced. I had my white propaganda topic for the day.

I scooted out of the all-American's range and switched to Channel 5, where I finally raised a solid tax-paying American.

"Prop T!" said the Mile Maniac, his handle, "you wanna turn this city into another Chicago with pay-as-you-go ward setup? Come on back."

"Nahh, Mr. Maniac," I shot



A screaming Montana jackalope

back, "you got the wrong idea. As it is now the Bank of America and the Chamber of Commerce run your little jewel by the Bay. Elect your supers from the neighborhoods 'n' you got a toehold in city government. Makes it easier to pull their pants down 'n' expose what kind of corruption is inside."

Another voice beat the Mile Maniac to the mike button. "Hey, guy," he said to the Maniac, "don't you know the present turkey supervisors got the taxpayers in the community divided against the city unions?"

I decided my mission was definitely accomplished on Channel 5. I flipped to Channel 2 and started over, then moved to Channel 1, then on to 22, and so on. I was jumping around loose as a flea on a dead dog.

Friskie City was turning out to be a friendly easy town. Rhetorical as a college freshman but friendly.

"Break for a 10-36," I said, asking for the time of day.

"Well, ah don' know, guy," came a Southern road voice, "if ah give ya the 36, you'll ask me mah handle, 'n' if ah give ya mah handle, you'll wanna know where ah'm from, where ah'm goin', who mah wife is, what she looks like, how many daughters we got, what they look like. But if ya gotta know, it's 11:19 in the A.M. This be the Oakie Catfish, KJK 74401, crawlin' for the Big O, 10-7."

Give an American a microphone and he'll wrap the cord around your neck.

10-4.

## What a life *Working Woman* leads—or so it says

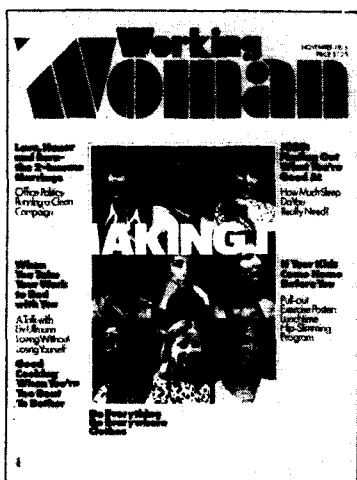
It's sold at the checkout stand at Woolworth's and it's aimed at the "38,000,000 of us who are working." *Working Woman*, a new slick magazine launched this month promises to "devote itself to every part of a working woman's life."

And what a life the editors seem to think women are leading.

What do you do if you are a tax lawyer and male colleagues make the important decisions at lunch without you? According to one article in the first issue, take the most sympathetic man out to lunch at the most expensive French restaurant you know; that will break the ice and you can begin to divide and conquer.

You are an assistant to a department head who is obviously going nowhere in the corporation? Research a project in a different department, write a memo to the man who runs it and invite him to discuss it over coffee.

*Working Woman* has great respect for women's financial abilities, too. In spite of women's median income for fulltime work of \$7,540 a year, the magazine goes right to the heart of their problems: ensembles for work at



\$500 each, new recipes for steak and decorating tips for bedrooms to make them double as offices.

There are fresh ideas for the single mother. Childcare problems might be solved by hiring an English nanny. "Yes, they still live," says an article titled, "How will your kids turn out when you're away all day, every day?" Perfectly OK, it says, if you just have a job you like, your husband's support and good care for the children. In case women are having trouble finding any of these, well, it's probably their own fault.

This year, 77 percent of U.S. working women had jobs as saleswomen, clericals, factory or service workers. The percentage will probably be similar next year. That, and an unemployment rate of 10 percent for women in many areas, doesn't give *Working Woman* any pause.

"Before, I used to talk about how the right things never happen to me," says a woman in an article about how to develop a career for yourself. "Now I realize that it's up to me to make them happen—and that I can!"

"And so can you," *Working Woman* says.

So much for the idea that changes will come from women organizing together to demand them.

Whether you are going from exciting love affair to exciting career and back again, as is one woman on the pages of this magazine, or trying to feed three children on your salary of \$6,000 a year, one article will definitely reassure you. It's the one revealing that some scientists have discovered women really don't need to sleep so much after all.

—Judy MacLean

## Ptomaine cooking

**63% of all American kitchens are high risk food poisoning zones**

If the person who does the cooking at your house is college-educated and under 50 and the family income is \$15,000 a year or more, your chances of becoming a victim of food poisoning are much higher than average.

At least those were the recently released results of a nationwide survey begun two years ago by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service. A scientifically selected sample of 2,503 households was used in the study that concluded that 63 percent of all American kitchens are "high-risk" zones for food poisoning.

Households were designated high risk based on a lack of knowledge of proper methods of handling and preparing foods. And much of the problem seemed to stem from a basic misunderstanding about inspection standards for raw meat and poultry, the study revealed.

Most people, particularly those in higher-income brackets, thought the government

regulates the number of salmonellas found in raw-meat products. But marketing sterile meat is impractical, the department said, because bacteria are everywhere. Potentially harmful bacteria must be destroyed through proper cooking and preparation.

Among hazardous kitchen practices common in high-risk households:

- Tasting questionable food to see if it is safe to eat—a potentially fatal habit.

- Eating very rare hamburger and other meats.

- Leaving chicken and tuna salad, brown-bag sandwiches and cooked meats at room temperature for more than two hours.

- Leaving food out at room temperature for extended periods in the mistaken belief that they must be cooled before they can be refrigerated.

According to the department, there are an estimated 2 to 10 million cases of food poisoning in the U.S. each year.



# Cab companies use leasing to boost profits

By David Moberg  
National Staff Writer

Dangling an attractive offer to "be your own boss" and make big money before a job-hungry labor market, cab companies in Chicago and other cities are threatening to undermine drivers' unions, make the work more demanding and dangerous and shift financial risk to the drivers.

The new gambit is leasing. Leasing was once common and never disappeared. But most cabbies work on a commission, earning between 40 and 50 percent of the fare, plus tips. Drivers and companies share the ups and downs of the market.

More than 1,000 members—nearly a third of the Democratic Union Organizing Committee, the cab union in Chicago, have been lost since leasing was started in 1975. In response to a National Labor Relations Board complaint charging cab companies with unfair labor practices, an administrative law judge ruled in September that lease drivers were not employees and thus not covered by the union. The companies responded with a new drive to attract lease drivers, offering a variety of special deals.

Cabs lease for \$18 to \$23 for a 12-hour shift or \$32 a full day. Once drivers "make their nut," or pay the leasing fee, they keep the rest of their fares. No record of earnings goes to the Internal Revenue Service, either, making underreporting on fares as easy as with tips.

## ► Appeals to young.

Leasing appeals mainly to young, inexperienced drivers who think they can make a lot of cash quickly. The feeling of greater freedom and access to a car for personal use also make leasing attractive to young drivers, mainly inner-city blacks.

"You're really your own boss," said 26-year old Wade, who has driven cabs less than a year. "You do what you want to do. It's your car. If you don't make a quota, it's your business. I'm not the kind of guy who likes to sit in a cab line. I like to roll."

Commission drivers are under pressure to make at least \$50 a day in fares. They're also disciplined or fired if they run up many unpaid miles. Lease drivers avoid these and other rules, such as restrictions on private use and company scheduling.

"You have a tendency to work your own schedule," Wade said. "You do your shopping, run your errands, make your livelihood. It's a convenience. I don't have a car, but I have one now. I call it my woman, my money-maker."

Although most drivers brag about how much more money they make, other drivers doubt that they can regularly do much better unless they work exhausting hours, hustle hard and violate cab-driver etiquette and customs—cutting into cab lines, darting across busy streets for fares and bribing hotel doormen. Belief in the possibility of making more money may be as important as bucks in the pocket.

Very few longtime cabbies have switched to leasing. Leroy, a 38-year veteran cab driver who came to Yellow Cab Co. 20 years ago when they first hired blacks, got his night-shift spotlight ready while we talked. "I

got too much time in to switch. I would be crazy to lease and give up my benefits—pension, month vacation, health insurance. These young guys ain't got nothing going for them anyway. They may see the money there, but I don't. This way (on commission) if I don't get out this evening and make but \$5 or \$10 in fares, I got some of that. But leasing if I only make that I still got to bring \$20 for tomorrow. Leasing is much rougher than just driving. He's got to keep rolling. They have more accidents. They're trying to get that money."

"You're safer with a commission," 30-year-old J.J. said as he gassed up his cab. "If you get stuck up, with a commission you say, 'It's just the money,' cause you don't have that feeling of 'got to have this money, can't let it go.' There's more pressure on the lease. You got a complex there: 'I got to get \$40 before I can take a leak.' Us oldtimers don't want to push it that hard."

Lease drivers have to pay for their own gasoline and the first \$250 on accidents that are their fault. They have no union benefits and since they are not officially employees, the company does not have to pay for workmen's compensation. The savings to the companies has been great enough that preliminary audits by the city of Chicago show the companies losing money on commission cabs but making money on leases. (That partial loss may be misleading. Cab companies own separate insurance companies, parts companies and other fronts that permit them to take their profits wherever it is most convenient for taxes and rate hikes.)

With leasing cab companies can protect their profits by passing on gas price increases to drivers and raising leasing rates. They can avoid having to go before regulatory boards for rate increases and bargaining with the union over commission percentages. "The companies have got a built-in rate increase any time they want without a union," Spencer Austin, the Chicago local president, said.

## ► Horse-hiring.

"Horse-hiring," New York slang for leasing, will probably be accepted by the New York union in new contract talks at the end of this month despite driver opposition. In exchange they will probably demand that lease drivers remain in the union. Cab companies in Minneapolis and other cities are also moving toward leasing.

The attack on the union in Chicago may succeed, partly because of the union's history of timidity and inaction. "I would say there's not only no interest among the lease drivers in joining the union," one Chicago commission driver said, "but there's hostility. The union is seen as something that took \$8 a month in dues, didn't do anything and now can't even defend itself."

Drivers have already felt the pinch of hard times—fewer riders and lower tips. In exchange for a fling with a loosely-reined independence and a chance of more money, they are now also expected to put up with harder work, fewer benefits, greater insecurity, no union protection and more mental pressure. ■

## IN SHORT

### Preparing for crowd violence

Big Ten officials, concerned about possible outbreaks of violence at athletic events, have drawn up detailed written plans for possible crowd disturbances. Senior Big Ten official Gene Calhoun, who revealed the plans, described the need for such planning: "Evertime I go on that field I know that some nut with an ice pick could end my career or my life.... There are people who would love to tear down every institution in this country. Since they can't tear down the whole university, they go for institutions within the institution." Calhoun predicts a major crowd disturbance causing injuries and even deaths in the near future.

### Cotton in the burgers

Are you ready for cottonburgers? Scientists at the New Orleans Regional Research Center say they have developed a meat-like tasty treat made out of cotton seeds. They claim that their cottonburger tastes exactly like hamburger.

### Asbestos in the wine

Many of the less expensive red wines imported into the U.S. from France contain up to 40 million asbestos fibers per liter as a result of asbestos filtering, Pacific News Service reports.

Some cancer specialists have warned that such high levels could be extremely dangerous. The suspected wines include such popular brands as Beaujolais Villages and Cotes Du Rhone, PNS reports.

The U.S. bans asbestos filtering for all domestic wines, but the regulation does not cover imported foreign wines.

### Depressed in LA

The chairman of the University of Southern California's psychiatry department says that mental depression in Los Angeles is rapidly reaching epidemic proportions.

Dr. Edward Stainbrook states that the city has been flooded in recent decades by people seeking to escape. All they find, according to the doctor, is a sprawling city, inhabited by lonely people. "Not only are things moving fast now, but there is a growing feeling that there is no predictable future." The result, Stainbrook says, is a fear of loneliness, frantic lifestyles and widespread depression.

### Prime time millions

The average successful prime time TV show reaches 32 million people. For a program to stay on the air, it must reach at least 20 million, Community Press Features reports.

### Unwritten rule ends Rainbows

The national Rainbow organization suspended all 136 of its chapters in Iowa after the Indianapolis chapter admitted a black girl. Leaders of the Rainbow said that the chapter had violated a 54-year old "unwritten" rule against membership for blacks. The Iowa division of the Masons, who sponsor the Rainbow, closed its facilities to the Iowa chapters and said it was considering establishing a new girls' organization.

### Kids becoming caffeine freaks

Mary Louise Bunker of UCLA says that millions of children are receiving massive doses of caffeine in their soft drinks and candy bars.

According to Bunker, the caffeine content of most cola drinks has been steadily rising over the past decade so that today's typical drink contains half the caffeine found in a strong cup of coffee. Many candy bars contain almost as much.

An advisory panel to the Food and Drug administration recently split on whether caffeine is safe in cola drinks, with some members arguing that it was "prudent to assume" there might be a health hazard for children.

## 'Left' party crashes TV

Audiences were startled across the nation Election Eve with a half-hour of primetime TV promoting a "left" group, the U.S. Labor party.

The NBC broadcast cost about \$95,000 and was reportedly paid for in cash. NBC first refused to accept the program because of its late placement, but was ordered by the Federal Communications Commission to broadcast it as a legitimate appeal for the party candidate, Lyndon H. LaRouche. LaRouche's name appeared on the ballot in 25 states.

LaRouche's half-hour presentation was an explanation of a new worldwide monetary system and an attack on President-elect Carter. He appealed for votes to assure a Republican victory. According to LaRouche, a Republican victory, coupled with a large Labor Party vote, would best ensure that his plans for a new world order be implemented.

The party, which also goes by the name of National Caucus of Labor Committees, is a tiny "left" group dating from the late '60s. Its 600-odd members are dominated by LaRouche, who relies on a mix of psychological jargon and paranoid fear to maintain order.

The party is viewed with considerable distrust and suspicion by left organizations. This stems in part from incidents in 1973 when party members initiated more than 60 violent assaults on left groups and organizations, all of which they view as agents of a "Rockefeller police-state conspiracy" to control world banking and trade.

The main question raised

about the party, however, has to do with its finances. With few apparent sources of income, the organization commands lavish sums of money.

The Washington-based Terrorist Information Project, which has been studying the party, estimates its annual expenses at \$1.4 million and its visible earnings at \$300,000, leaving an unexplained deficit of more than \$1 million.

No clear explanation for

party riches has been provided, although speculation runs from the CIA to Ford supporters.

During the campaign, LaRouche himself said his "closest allies are the John Birch Society and the Republican National Committee."

Another member, answering charges of CIA backing, said, "It may be true that we get money from the CIA. At this point we will take money from wherever we can get it." ■

## ALBUM



In These Times welcomes the work of photographers that shows various aspects of life in America. These photographs do

not need to be tied to a news story or even a particular theme, though that is preferable.

These Times Photo by Jane Melnick



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## Woody Allen: a winner for a change

**THE FRONT**, starring Woody Allen  
Directed by Martin Ritt, screenplay by  
Walter Bernstein, Columbia Pictures

"The Front" is an entertaining and gripping film about an era of terrible violence in America. No one in it is shot or beaten, however. There are no car chases: There is not even a scream.

The central character, Howard Prince, is played superbly by that king of losers, Woody Allen. In this tale—part wholly believable, part acceptable fable—he begins as a loser and ends up as a winner of sorts. The era is the 1950's, the scene New York.

Prince is cashier in a bar and grill and a part-time bookie. He is a sad sack with a talent for losing money, but likeable, with a sense of humor. Al Miller, a friend since elementary school, drops in to see him. Miller, played excellently by Michael Murphy, is a successful TV writer and Prince admires him. Miller discloses he is in trouble—he can't work. Prince asks the obvious questions.

No, Miller replies, it's not ill-health or writer's cramp. He is blacklisted. Prince (like most moviegoers under 40) doesn't know what blacklisted means. Miller explains: There is a list kept by all the networks; if someone's name is on it, there is no work for that person.

Why is his name on the list?  
Miller: "I'm a Communist sympathizer."

Prince, naively: "But you always were."

"It's not so popular now."

Miller needs someone to front for him, someone politically "untainted" whose name can be put on his scripts. Prince volunteers at once—this is what friends do for each other. He is surprised, but not at all displeased when Miller insists on paying him 10 percent of everything earned from this use of his name.

The thrust of the story begins in this scene and we have also been introduced to one main aspect of the violence of that era: the ferocious punishment of thousands of Americans who, at some time in their lives, had been political dissenters on the left—briefly or continuously, far in the past or currently, members of a group or not.

It should be borne in mind that in the '50s our country was as well-armed against criminals as it is now: by laws, police, FBI, courts and prisons. But the thousands who were robbed of careers, prevented from practicing their crafts, dismissed from jobs and blacklisted were never charged with crimes. They were charged with "wrong" thinking and "subversive" behavior.

Nowhere in our Constitution and Bill of Rights is there any mention of "wrong" thinking or "subversive" behavior. On the contrary, the Bill of Rights begins with the right of citizens to free speech and freedom of association, which obviously would have no meaning unless they were guaranteed by the right of citizens to think freely and to act politically.

But in the Cold War domestic atmosphere inaugurated by Truman in 1945—with an execu-



Allen as Prince: "But you always were."

Photo by Columbia Pictures

tive order that government employees had to sign a loyalty oath that restricted their freedom and could be investigated by a loyalty review board—new standards came into American life. They were applied joyously and vindictively by those who made up what I call the cutting edge of American fascism.

Foremost among them was the House Un-American Activities Committee. It was then under the vigorous leadership of three representatives—Thomas, soon to be in prison for embezzlement; Rankin, as outspoken a racial bigot as any Ku Klux Klan member, and Nixon, a president-to-be of many skills and virtues. In the Senate there were three equivalent committees, the most notorious of which was headed by McCar-

thy. Working in concert and imitated by states, cities, trade unions, universities, and hundreds of other committees and loyalty boards, these committees successfully established what was patriotic and what subversive.

It was acceptable to have marched in a St. Patrick's Day parade, but not in a May Day parade. It was patriotic to have become an antifascist after the U.S. declared war on Germany in 1941, but premature and subversive to have supported the antifascist side in the civil war in Spain in 1939. It was a sign of humanity to have contributed to war relief for our ally, Britain, but grounds for a subpoena to have contributed to war relief for another ally, the Soviet Union. Under the guise of defending the

nation's freedom from the "menace" of communism, the Constitution was flung into a latrine, citizens were abused and hounded, some imprisoned, some driven to suicide.

It is this that is the background for "The Front." However, since it is an entertainment, not a political tract—and properly so—there is a great deal about the period that it cannot possibly touch upon. What it does use, it handles with cinematic excellence in a well-told, well-acted, offbeat story.

Prince is rapidly established as a brilliant new writer. Both his versatility and output grow as he fronts for two other men in addition to Miller. He pays off his debts, acquires tailor-made clothes, a middle-class apartment and a vibrant girl friend (Andrea Marcovicci), who melts over the understanding way he writes about women.

There are not a few delightful moments in which he has to comport himself like a writer and one in which he is rushed into an office for immediate revision of one of his scripts. There is also a sinister subplot that begins to involve him. In the '50s several former FBI men worked out a profitable racket by publishing a bulletin called *Red Chan-*

*nels*. In it they listed the name of anyone in TV or radio who, by their standards, was tainted with Communist activities or associates. They charged a high price for the bulletin that all executives (themselves living in fear of job loss in that era of the witch-hunt) subscribed to and used as a bible—no one whose name was on it could work.

"The Front" makes use of a character who plays an equivalent role. We see him drive a stake through the heart of a comic, Hecky Greene, played by Zero Mostel, who "transgressed" politically in years gone by. Blacklisted, Greene agrees to spy on Prince in the hope that he may clear himself for work. From that the climax and surprise ending of the story develops, an ending that caused me to use the words "acceptable fable" earlier.

There is a listing at the close of the film that was as touching to me as it was unexpected: the names of the director, writer and four of the actors, and the specific years in which they were blacklisted. *The Front* is eminently worth seeing. The film company that gave it the financial go-ahead, Columbia, deserves applause.

—Albert Maltz

## Alex and the Gypsy never get it together

**ALEX AND THE GYPSY**, starring Jack Lemmon and Genevieve Bujold, with James Woods.

Directed by John Kory, screenplay by Lawrence B. Marcus, from a novel, *The Bailbondsmen*, by Stanley Elkin, 20th Century Fox

Alex and his gypsy never really get it all together and neither does the movie of the same name.

It's hard to see why not. All the elements of a successful, slick comedy-drama are there: an oddball protagonist with an offbeat occupation; a smoldering siren of exotic (national) extraction; an adequate amount of violence and the menace of more; plenty of pratfall comedy; sex, both implicit and explicit; and suspense of a sort. Or rather, of several sorts.

Maybe that's the problem.

The screen writer (who gets the Lemmon character from Elkin's novel) had to invent the Bujold character and set her up in a plot. He started her in jail, badly in need of the services of bailbondsmen Lemmon who used to be her lover and who (one is reasonably sure) will be again. It takes a lot of flashbacking to flesh out that skeleton. The result is a Christmas pie into which the writer (or was it the director?) stuck his thumb to pull out a plum of the past at unexpected and often-unexplained junctures of the story's "present."

Bujold is in jail because she tried to disembowel her husband (the mug she married after she ran out on Lemmon). She has already confessed and faces a 5 to 10-year sentence. Gypsies "do not survive in confinement." So Problem No. 1 is will Lemmon bail her out so she can enjoy four days of freedom and he can enjoy her? Problem

No. 2: Will he get her off with a lighter sentence or let her escape? Lemmon and the screen writer had trouble making up their minds about the alternatives under No. 2 and the plot darts around like a water beetle for the last half of the film.

At one point Lemmon actually obtains the taped evidence that would all but guarantee judicial clemency and throws it out the window of his speeding car because he's too nervous to make the tape recorder work. He's frequently too nervous to make his own remarkable talents work. Ms. Bujold is also nervous, but she manages better than anyone else in the film, including James Woods, who is featured in the role of a modern Bob Cratchit, enslaved to Lemmon (Scrooge)—a peculiar character that may have made sense in the Elkin's novel, but doesn't come off in the film.

Something Hollywood filmmakers frequently do very well indeed does come off: to explore in depth and detail the technical aspects of a job or profession. The sequences that show the bailbondsmen at work in the spit-stained milieu of a small city jail-courthouse-morgue environment hold one's attention by virtue of their authenticity. And so to a limited extent do the sequences that concern themselves with gypsy life and culture. They may or may not be authentic, but at least they are persuasive.

For the rest, "Alex and the Gypsy" has an air of having been "staged" even when the backgrounds are California's highways, deserts and barren hills, or the architectural atrocities of early 1920 West-Coast Victoriana.

—Janet Stevenson



Albert Maltz

## Maltz: the real thing

Albert Maltz is one of 10 Hollywood writers and directors whose 1947 refusal to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of Communist influence in the motion-picture industry led to their conviction for contempt of Congress and to the institution of blacklists in film and other related fields.

At the time of his HUAC appearance Maltz was one of the industry's most distinguished writers, with major motion picture credits (*Pride of the Marines*, *Destination Tokyo*, *Naked City*, *This Gun for Hire*) three Broadway plays, two novels (the anti-Nazi *The Cross and the Arrow* and *The Underground Stream*) and a number of widely

anthologized short stories, one of which won the O'Henry Memorial Award for the best American short story of its year.

For a number of years after his release from jail on the contempt citation, Maltz lived in Mexico and wrote for films under a pseudonym. A novel based on his jail experience, *A Long Day in a Short Life*, was published by International in 1957. As the blacklist began to crumble in the late '60s and early '70s, Maltz returned to Hollywood and has several recent screen credits, including *Two Mules for Sister Sarah*. His *Selected Short Stories* (Liveright, 1970) has been translated into 20 languages.



# Holmes and Freud are stylish fun

## Seven-Per-Cent Solution

Starring Alan Arkin, Nicol Williamson, Robert Duval, Vanessa Redgrave and Sir Lawrence Olivier; directed by Herbert Ross; written by Nicholas Meyer; distributed by Universal.

The Seven-Per-Cent Solution is 90 percent fun, 3 percent balderdash; sometimes unbelievable, always as stylish as it can be; yet first class adventure entertainment.

"The story is true...only the facts are made up," is the film's subtitle and it sets the tone for the evening. The story, adapted by Nicholas Meyer from his best-selling novel, begins when Dr. Watson is summoned to Baker Street to reason with Sherlock Holmes, who has barricaded himself in his beautiful, cluttered, Edwardian digs.

Holmes is in a state of cocaine-induced paranoia, being "hunted" by an evil fiend—an international conspirator—known to him only as Prof. Moriarty. Holmes claims to have been working on this case for several months, with little success and with ever-increasing danger to himself.

Extremely alarmed by his friend's appearance (which is really pretty wild), Watson finds an empty hypodermic syringe, which explains Holmes' bizarre behavior, but not the mystery of Prof. Moriarty.

Watson manages, with considerable difficulty, to get Holmes to Vienna to be cured of his addiction by a young Dr. Sigmund Freud. There the two greatest minds of the late 19th century are joined in an effort to solve the



Two great minds and a mysterious disappearance

mysterious disappearance of a gorgeous, red-haired, musical comedy star. There are complications involving the machinations of a love-struck Turkish pasha and evil plottings by an arrogant German baron, and finally a hilarious train chase to the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, which is more than vaguely reminiscent of Jules Verne's "Eighty Days Around the World."

Oswald Morris, the director of photography, has given the film a breathtaking beauty more often found in romantic love stories than in detective adventures. But then, maybe this is a sort of love story—in love with the 1890s, with courtliness, with the sprightly turn of mind and

the intrigue of discovery.

Alan Arkin as the young Freud is a bit shy, suffering from the disrespect of his colleagues, kindly and willing to go to almost any length to help his patients. But at bedrock he is quite competitive. Nicol Williamson plays a Holmes who is as brilliant, but not as suave as we have come to expect—due to the advanced state of his drug addiction. This gives the film-makers a chance at some rather jazzy cold-turkey fantasies and some subliminal "unconscious" film editing. But the real fun comes from the clash of the two personalities: Freud v. Holmes.

Prof. Moriarty, played by Sir Lawrence Olivier, is a delightful, timid, old humbug of a school-

master. It would really take a cocaine fit to turn him into an international crime tycoon. Vanessa Redgrave is properly beautiful as the red-haired siren who drives all men mad—except, of course, Freud, who is her shrink.

Robert Duvall, as the good Dr. Watson, nearly steals the show. His is a witty portrait of an Englishman full of intelligence and humor, not the traditional, bumbling foil for Holmes. Structurally the Watson character holds the film together and Duvall strikes a stylistic standard against which all the other actors can—or must—play.

The set designer deserves (and doesn't get) top billing for his velvet-draped, paneled Edwardian London, his marble and gilt Imperial Vienna and above all for Freud's study, brought to life from old photographs, with all sorts of bric-a-brac to delight those knowledgeable enough to identify symbols from Freud's writings.

But in the end it is the sure touch and modern idiom of Herbert Ross, who produced and directed, and Nicholas Meyer, who wrote, that keep the film alive and fun. It would have been easy to slip into campiness. They never do. The characters are all serious. It's the situations they are in that set you to laughing really hard. It's the inside jokes—the "games people play" (Freud plays a mean game of squash)—that keep you rolling.

We should have more like this one.

—Mavis Lyons

## Commitment to inequality

**RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA**, by John Hope Franklin  
University of Chicago Press, 1976

John Hope Franklin, the most distinguished historian of black America, uses the Jefferson lectures of the National Endowment for the Humanities to reflect on America's commitment to racial inequality. The record of American race relations is dreary and depressing and here the story is told in its starkest terms, without many hopeful statements.

The story, depressing as it is, is well told within a very brief narrative, but Franklin's decision to avoid explaining America's shifting position on racial equality makes this a less useful book than its promise. Why was it that Truman, a hack politician from a border state, assumed the responsibility for issuing a landmark report on civil rights and began the process of desegregating the armed forces? Why was the Gandhian policy of nonresistance successful in the 1960s when it had previously failed?

Franklin concludes with a question that Americans must face: having recognized equality is indivisible, we must decide whether we will reject the concept itself "and sink into a state of general degradation characteristic of other decaying societies," or accept the fact that to be equal we must abandon our historic attempt to deny equality to black Americans.

—Arthur Zilversmit

### One for you

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

### One for your lover

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

### One for your boss

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

### One for your mother

Name

Street

City, State, Zip

Four subscription blanks for you to complete and mail to us today. You won't want them to miss anything that's coming up

- ▶ John Cammett on the communists in Italy
- ▶ Ed Greer on the Cities

- ▶ Michelle Russell
- ▶ Barbara Ehrenreich

- ▶ James Aronson on the press
- ▶ Noam Chomsky on the FBI and CIA

- ▶ Women and the elections

- ▶ The Amtrak Story
- ▶ A series on crime in the U.S. by Elliot Currie

- ▶ An interview with Steve Nelson by Max Gordon on the 40th Anniversary Reunion of the International Brigade

- ▶ A four-part series on the labor movement in the United States by our staff

And, of course, we'll review the week's top news stories.

A one year subscription is \$15. Mail your check to New Majority Publishing Company, Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622.

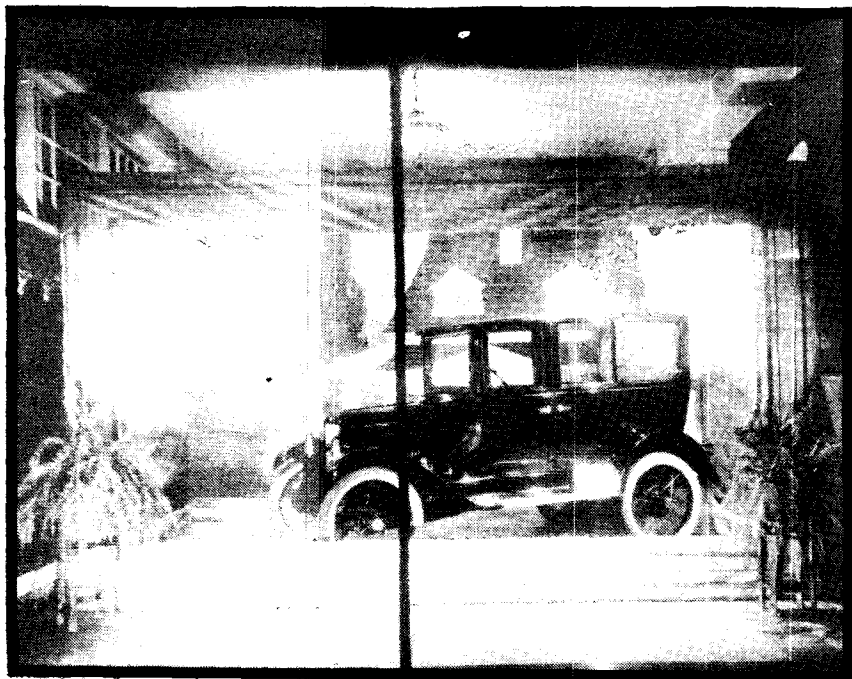
*You won't find  
it anywhere else. It's*

# IN THESE TIMES



## ART (ENTERTAINMENT)

Books



—Photos from Real Life

## A new kind of people's history

**REAL LIFE, LOUISVILLE IN THE TWENTIES**, by Michael Lesy  
Pantheon, \$15.95 hardcover, \$7.95 paperback

You can peer under the tidy rugs of the American middle-class from all sorts of angles but Michael Lesy has managed to come up with one that is new and useful. He uses old photographs and historical records to call into question the way of life the photographers and record-keepers were doing their best to validate.

In his new book, *Real Life, Louisville in the Twenties*, Lesy culls from newspapers, court cases, oral history, mental institution records and the files of the leading commercial photographic studio in Louisville at the time. His selections project quiet desperation, loud desperation, greed, distrust, dishonesty, sadism. The photographs—which are the most striking and accessible historical records in the collection—have an unabashed grotesqueness with the intensity sought by the late Diane Arbus. Here it is achieved unintentionally.

The title, of course, is ironic. The photographs do not show real life as it was for most people in Louisville. They show people dressed up for occasions: in costume, in wedding dresses, or in what the well-dressed lady wears to a luncheon party (with a black maid handing the lady that marvelous new gadget, the telephone). A few pages farther

on we see the same black maid handing the same telephone to all sorts of other people, including one shot of the master of the house getting a call while shaving.

Or the pictures are of things: for instance, 30-odd cash registers on the steps of a large building. Or of what happens when something goes wrong with things, as when an accident turns a shiny new Ford into a tortured wreck.

There are several pairs of pictures of work in factories, before and after some radical retouching. The "befores" give a sense of the atmosphere in which many people really worked—grimy, dark, full of fumes. In the "afters" greasy brick walls are turned white, with windows added; floors are swept clear of shavings and dirt; fumes are turned into sunlight, and hair is painted on bald workers. One is forced to wonder who hired the retouchers and why, and what they were paid. Lesy does not comment.

The written records seem to have been selected to show the results of unrelenting pressures to achieve impossible goals, as for example to marry both for money and for love. We read letters written to the Dear Abby of 1920 Louisville (a Miss Grey)—confessions that give most of the sordid details of a variety of bad relations between the sexes. Remembering the photographs of family life, one is forced to reflect on the gap between the dry

rot in these people's personal lives and the commercial photographs of themselves that they ordered.

There are some fascinating work records; the statistics of all paid employment in Louisville for one calendar year included:

- 2 capitalists;
- 23 softdrink-stand operators;
- 95 paperhangers;
- 711 prostitutes;
- 828 salesmen;
- 6,144 laborers;
- 1,822 "unknowns," and
- 1,034 of no occupation.

The reader is, again, left to draw the conclusion about real life in Louisville that flows from these figures without assistance from the photographers or journalists of that time and place. Or from historian Lesy.

It is possible to leaf through this book, laughing or shuddering at its vision of life in Louisville a half-century ago, making no relevant connections with our own as-yet-unrecorded times. But the potential of *Real Life* is quite different from, and greater than, the sum of its parts.

Local historical societies might consider mounting their own exhibits of such "nonhistory-turned-into-history" on the walls of town halls and county courthouses, with the written texts piped in over the Muzak system. This is people's history of a new and significant kind.

—Jane Melnick & Torie Osborn

## From creation to winning the West

**CENTENNIAL**, BY James Michener  
Fawcett Paperback, \$2.75

Since the death of John Steinbeck only James Michener has possessed both the talent and popularity required to qualify as America's favorite novelist. Unlike Steinbeck, whose work grew thinner toward the end of his life, Michener seems to improve with age. *Centennial*, his most recent work of fiction, confirms both his prowess and his

After nearly 200 pages of such narrative cartooning, in which great beasts hunger, mate, struggle and die, man appears on the scene. First come the Indians, then the earliest Caucasian trappers and hunters, followed by settlers, cowboys, cattle ranchers, bandits, explorers, farmers, businessmen and new immigrants. Michener has done the same painstaking research of the folkways and mores of the people who inhabited the West

*The kind of majestic transformations usually associated with science films and cinematic cartooning.*

popularity. A massive novel, published on the verge of the bicentennial, it stayed on the hardcover best-seller list for over a year and is available in a paperback edition.

Over 1,000 pages, *Centennial* contains material enough for three or four shorter novels. Its themes match its massive size: the literal creation of North America, the founding of its culture and the struggle to cultivate and preserve it. In Michener's *Hawaii* the volcanic islands of the Pacific served as material for what might be called a geo-historical epic. Here the Rocky Mountains are the focal point of a similar narrative. The rise and fall of the first range and the formation of the second (modern) Rockies offer the reader the kind of majestic transformations usually associated with science films and cinematic cartooning. Epoch fades into epoch; seas boil and rise; mountains grow, sink, rise again.

After the earth's crust cools, dinosaurs, giant beavers, horses, rattlesnakes and buffalo parade across the newly formed prairie.

as he did for the geological and zoological sequences and the result is a "metamorphic" account of how the West was won.

Only as the chapters approach the present does the narrative lose the Disney-like flash and color that made the early sequences so compelling. This seems to be the result of the novelist's forced yoking of the geological realm with the historical, political, economic and psychological. Seas rise, mountain ranges form, dinosaur yields to mammal, redman to white, and so on into eternity. Michener's universe seems ruled by the laws of earth science. In this awesome perspective humanity's struggle to survive is dwarfed into insignificance alongside the smoking volcano—a bleak vision to present to the American public in any year.

The book's continuing popularity testifies as much to the reading public's quest for reconsiderations of our volcanic past as it does to its acceptance of Michener's disturbing fantasia on these themes.

—Alan Cheuse

## 'Cranberry Island' Life-valuing continues

**BOOK OF THE CRANBERRY ISLANDS**, by Richard Grossinger  
Harper Colophon, \$4.95

This is an account of 8 months of ethnographic field work on Mt. Desert Island, an island off the Maine coast in a major lobster-fishing area with, also, some subsidiary gathering of clams, scallops and shrimp.

Only fair to say that the ingathering of seafood is not the sole subject of the book, for a book's content, Grossinger says, "the artist always makes." He makes it here with impressionism and verbal music, very hard to get into or get with. But when he settles down to visiting the wharves where the lobstermen sell their catch and goes to their homes, and lets you overhear and see these people, with their surprisingly frank identities and values, you begin to get his focus....

Which, if any, is people and people in places: the drive to identify place has for him some of the ferocious totality it had for Charles Olson—or James Agee in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*—a totality of minutiae, an unselective drench of detail. But out of the detail comes a val-

uing of people, a defending of life against drift and death.

Grossinger's wife and child occasionally mediate with the environment: "It is we now who create the animals and plants around us, we who rule the ecological nation wisely or squander the conditions of ourselves...." Grossinger's intent is to move us by his metaphor and music so that we might be willing to merge back into the basic planet and regain planetary hope.

He puts down many writing peers, but admits derivation. His book, he says, is "a long regional poem in the William Carlos Williams-Charles Olson tradition." He wrote it—120,000 words—in about 6 months, and once its larger intent is accepted, it is turbulent and alive, in danger of making other writing look dull. Whoever reads him through in spite of his surface veil will uncover a genuine writer, will feel the knot I mentioned, of place and people in deliberate simultaneity, will feel/hear a wash of music like waves beating on the Maine coast or elsewhere, evidence that life and life-valuing continue in our troubled country.

—Millen Brand





Phillips: At a recent concert in San Francisco, "groupies" screamed at her every word.  
—Photo by Richard Berger

# Esther Phillips: don't miss her

*An almost unconscious ability to extract every ounce of meaning from a song*

By Joel Parker  
San Francisco Bureau

In the words of jazz critic Leonard Feather, Esther Phillips "offers soul-shaking evidence that there is no better lesson in the art of singing the blues than a graduate course in living it." Phillips has learned that lesson well and hard and her emergence today as one of the greatest living blues stylists did not come without paying her dues.

Born in Galveston, Texas, in 1935, she spent her early childhood shuttling between divorced parents in Watts and Houston. As with most of the great blues and soul singers, she began singing in church. At the age of 13, her older sister and a girl friend

"fixed me up to look old" and brought her to a local nightclub in Watts.

Needing money for drinks, they encouraged her to sing in the club's amateur show, which—in the tradition of Hollywood success stories—she won. Next came her singing with the Johnny Otis Rhythm and Blues Caravan and an adolescence of endless road shows and tours as "Little Esther."

But the explosion of rock 'n' roll in the early '50s—aimed at a young, white audience—had no place for earthy renditions of "adult" material. Even the more acceptable black singers, recording for what were then called race labels, usually saw whites record duplicate takes of

their hits and get the airplay and national exposure.

The Johnny Otis group broke up in Esther's early 20's and she drifted into obscurity and a long grueling bout with heroin addiction. From the mid-'50s until her stay at Synanon, where she kicked the habit, her career was constantly disrupted by the drug's deadening effects.

Esther did manage to record a hit country record, "Release Me," in 1963. And in 1965 her version of the Beatles' "And I Love Her" led to a tour with the Liverpool Four and her first major recognition since the "Little Esther" days.

But it wasn't until 1971, when she signed a contract with KUDU Records (a subsidiary of CTI), that her career began a marked upswing. This contract not only represented a giant step toward attaining the broad recognition her talent deserved, but also helped her to develop a musical idiom suited to her unique tonal qualities and powerful phrasing.

With a voice often compared to the immortal Dinah Washington's and backed by super-tight horn and string arrangements, Esther mixed dramatic renditions of popular ballads and straight-ahead versions of blues standards in her first four KUDU albums.

In "From a Whisper to a Scream" and "Performance" there's an almost unconscious ability to extract every ounce of meaning from a song. Her voice lingering on key words, splitting syllables—proud and defiant or mournful and pensive—is given full show. Singing Gil Scott-Heron's powerful song, "Home Is Where the Hatred Is," she breaks into a monologue defying her listeners to understand the complex roots of drug addiction in this society. "You keep on saying Kick it, Quit it/ Lord, but did you ever try/ To turn your sick soul inside out/ so that the world can watch you die?"

Her most recent albums, "What a Difference a Day Makes" and "For All We Know" are backed with predominantly electronic, guitar-featured tracks and Esther glides through quasi-disco versions of the title cut in the former and "Fever." "Unforgettable" and "Caravan" in the latter. "What a Difference a Day Makes" was her first bonafide single success in a long time and broadened her audience. At a recent concert in San Francisco's Great American Music Hall, Esther Phillips "groupies" screamed at her every word.

A new album of hers will be released this month, titled "Capricorn Princess." The word (from a member of her band) is that it will represent a departure from her previous two.

Esther is touring the country with her new band and will be appearing Nov. 20 at the Miami-Dade Community College in South Miami, Fla., and Nov. 24 at the Village Gate in New York. If she's performing near you, don't miss her.



## Are You Ready for the Real South?

The South is more than Jimmy Carter, Julian Bond and George Wallace. It's more than flip-flopping stereotypes from the snarling segregationist to the saintly sentimentalist.

The nation's media has again discovered the South. But by making it a fad, the media has missed the region's special strength and secret.

The uniqueness of Southern people. A people, black and white, who have learned to endure defeat, to sink roots deep in their land, to design a culture that would support them when all else seemed hopeless and confused.

From their ties to these people, leaders like Wallace and Bond and Carter have repeatedly inspired and inflamed the country. That's why we must go to the grass-roots South to understand the changes taking place in America.

That's why **Southern Exposure**, the quarterly journal that puts politics and culture together, goes behind the headlines and superstars to let the people

speak for themselves.

Each quarter we publish another book/journal that chronicles the unwritten social and political history of a region whose richness defies trendy characterizations. Each time, we prove C. Vann Woodward's thesis that the South's unique development offers an alternative perspective on America.

**Southern Exposure** looks at social change from its roots in America's heartlands. The view from the inside.

Book-length collections are now available on a dozen themes, including:

- *The agrarian South, past and present.*
- *The politics of the New South cities.*
- *America's musical heritage.*
- *The voices of the new black poets.*
- *Populist traditions and an oral history of the Great Depression.*
- *Who owns the South?*
- *The new push to organize the South.*
- *Southern Women: myth and reality.*
- *The civil rights movement and religion.*

### Southern Exposure

"the single best source on the national and regional dynamics behind the people and power of the South."  
— Julian Bond

"an insightful and sensitive perspective grounded in the experiences of everyday people."  
— Theodore Rosengarten, author, *All God's Dangers*

"a place to go to see and feel and hear real Southerners in all their variety and complexity. A magazine in the best of the populist tradition."  
— Robert Coles, author, *Children of Crisis*

**Special Offer: The Ideal Southern Library.** Yes, please send me the complete set of *Southern Exposure* thus far published and a current subscription (1750 illustrated, 8½ x 11 pages in twelve paperbound books, a \$34 value) for only \$25.00.

Enclosed is my \$8 for a subscription to *Southern Exposure*, the quarterly series on the South.

Enclosed is my \$2.50 for a sample copy of this unique journal and a brochure describing other issues.

My name is \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

(Make checks payable to Southern Exposure and mail with this coupon to Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514)

**Southern Exposure**

WINDOW TO A CHANGING AMERICA



# Average White Band: 'outrageously black, outrageously good'

The Average White Band is whiter than white. Hamish Stuart, the thin Scotsman who sings lead with a screaming James Brown pureness, has carrot hair and pink skin. Until drummer Robbie McIntosh overdosed last year at an instantly famous Hollywood party and was replaced by British-West African Steve Ferrone, AWB consisted of Hamish and five Scottish pals from Perth and London.

Yet AWB's music is as popular with black record buyers as with white. A typical American concert is packed equally with young black and white teenagers. The band's hits—like "Cut the Cake," "Pick Up the Pieces," "School Boy Crush," and "Taking Care of Business," all intensely rhythmic sex metaphors with no lyric content—shoot to the top of the still-segregated soul 'n' pop charts in the music trade magazines.

Elvis Presley, Pat Boone, the Righteous Brothers, Janis Joplin and others all rode to the top by performing black music—with varying degrees of integrity. But

## White on black in the music industry

only a few white performers, like Presley and the Righteous Brothers, and more recently fellow Britisher Pete Winfield ("18 With a Bullet"), ever cross over to popularity with black audiences.

Is AWB a ripoff? It's not that simple. The Average White Band is a phenomenon. They play clear, tight rhythm 'n' blues with perfectly meshed arrangements. Even jazz musicians like Les McCann praise them without reservation.

"It's not a matter of choosing," keyboard man Roger Ball said once. "Black is the only thing we can do. It just happens subconsciously."

The question is not, as the great white blues controversy of the 1960's would have it, whether white musicians can play black music competently. They can and have. The problem lies, as it al-

ways does in sweet home America, with the wider structure of things. The structure of the music industry even now, and more so in the Fifties and before, is racist. Or put another way: in a country where songs and musicians are bought and sold like other commodities, no matter what the price, the natural tendency for cultures to influence and borrow from one another becomes theft.

Presley thanked Arthur (Big Boy) Crudup for providing him with his first rock 'n' roll hit, "That's All Right." But while the song sold millions, Presley only thanked its black creator with a wall plaque. More subtly, the Beatles blew black groups off the charts, but not because they were somehow racist. They weren't. They gave credit where credit was due and rekindled the careers of artists like Chuck

Berry. But because of their overwhelming popularity among whites, the percentage of black acts on the singles and album charts plummeted from 42 percent in 1962 to 22 percent in 1966.

"The little white girl in school loved to dance to Chuck Berry," Ahmet Ertegun, the president of Atlantic Records, once told me, "but somehow John Lennon looked more like her dream, you know what I mean?"

In the current music industry black groups have charged that their record companies cannot or will not give them promotion on the concert circuit equal to their record sales. The concert and club circuit is controlled by white promoters skittish about "racial incidents" in their houses. Worse, black bands are often kept off major AM radio stations. The unwritten rule at too many stations, according to one important Boston program director, is that a soul record is not to be added to the playlist at a major AM pop station until it reaches the Top 10 of the pop

record charts nationally.

Although Stevie Wonder is now crowned "the musical genius of his generation" by the national media, his "Living for the City" was held off many AM playlists until it was unstoppable. "On and On" by Gladys Knight and the Pips was a similar casualty.

AM stations blacklist R&B hits, by the way, not because their programmers "dislike" the music, but because they feel that black and white audiences do not overlap. Many AM advertisers also consider certain products specific to the black or white market.

You may be curious: how did the Average White Band get their name? Because they sounded so outrageously black and good that the name would be a beautifully appropriate joke? That's what I always thought. But the name is a play on an old British imperialist expression: "This is too much for the average white man."

Maybe that's a better joke.

—Steve Chapple

# YOU can find your job in the pages of

## IN THESE TIMES

- Plug into the growing national network of local distributors for IN THESE TIMES.
- Bring IN THESE TIMES to your city or town and get a well-paying part-time job as well.
- For information, contact, Torie Osborn, Circulation Manager, IN THESE TIMES.

1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60622  
312/489-4444

**I'm a natural!**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street/Route \_\_\_\_\_

City, State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

We need you.



Photo by Jane Melnick



## Which way Carter?

Late in the night, the result was announced: Democrat Jimmy Carter had won the right to preside over some of the most severe domestic problems facing the U.S. since World War II. His presidency will be marked by the disparity between the severity of the problems and the poverty of resources he can mobilize to resolve them.

Political parties do two things. First, they elect people to office, though television has cut substantially into this role. Second, they organize the use of power after it is won. In 1976, these two functions sharply contradict each other, as Carter's obvious discomfort in making electoral promises indicated. He had to pledge support for the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill and for national health insurance, for example. But once in power, Carter will find himself tending to oppose expensive social programs because of stronger pressure for other forms of spending. Increasingly, American politics is a cycle in which candidates make promises to be elected and then must break them to govern.

The circumstances of the 1976 election intensified this contradiction. Blacks and working people's votes were essential for Carter's victory. And given the narrowness of his margin over President Ford, it will be difficult to take steps that would antagonize these groups. A landslide victory would have given Carter more flexibility. But one can be sure that neither Leonard Woodcock, the United Auto Workers president, nor Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) will hesitate to remind him about their roles in his victory.

That blacks and unions have emerged as decisive in winning elections is no accident, but is part of fundamental changes that have been taking place in the American electorate. A recent book, *The Changing American Voter*, by Norman Nye, Sidney Verba and John Petrocik, documents these changes. Statistical analysis of election returns and surveys since 1956 led the authors to conclude not only that blacks have emerged as a major force within the Democratic party, but also that they are increasingly moving to the left—in 1972, 62 percent of all blacks identified as liberal compared to 26 percent in 1956.

### ►One big union?

These and other writers have noted that the parties are no longer holding the respect and loyalty they once did. Other institutions have been increasingly important in bringing out the vote. The single most powerful of these is the labor union. This year, the political action arms of the AFL-CIO were essential to Carter's success.

But although blacks and workers are becoming more important in the party, and also more disenchanted with society, the Democrats have witnessed some countertrends. Carter could not have won without his solid block of votes below the Mason-Dixon line. Nye, Verba and Petrocik prove that all sections of the white South have become solidly conservative over 20 years, which was no so earlier. In addition, more silk-stocking types are registering Democrat. Speaking of these trends, they ask: "How does any party with such a polarized base maintain (in the long run or in any specific election) the allegiance of both groups?"

It is a good question. During the campaign Carter held both groups together by saying different things to each. His flexible conception of honesty and truth was not a character defect, but a structural feature of his party. As president, Carter may not be able to continue doing this. Polarization in his party will be one of his major problems.

As a candidate, Carter was a New Dealer, proclaiming his likeness to FDR. But as president, Carter will be the first Democratic post-New Dealer without surpluses available for social programs. Today's fiscal realities will not allow him to spend enormous

amounts of money to hold a coalition together.

In the postwar years, Democrats combined an allegiance to the "welfare state," which kept blacks and unions in line, with an allegiance to defense spending that brought in the South and deflected the charge that they were soft on communism. Waste and high taxes associated with the rapid growth of the state have undermined this strategy.

### ►Damned if you do....

To please those who voted for him by pushing social programs will mean cutting into defense budgets. If Carter does that, he will alienate the South and arouse the wolves of the Republican right. On the other hand, keeping defense expenditures high will spark a grassroots revolt, reaching into Congress, against cuts in domestic services. Whichever way he turns, Carter risks losing part of his coalition.

No one can say which road Carter will take. His major policy advisers, particularly from the Brookings Institution and the Trilateral Commission, have been urging him to maintain a strong defense posture. *Setting National Priorities: The Next 10 Years*, a recent Brookings volume intended as a blueprint for Carter's administration, explicitly rejects significant reductions in defense spending. Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the only man to whom Carter pledged a job during the campaign, argues the U.S. must recapture its sense of mission. Brzezinski would like to see defense spending reduced some by having multinational corporations assume a more active role in the Third World. If hostile forces can be made into consumers, he implies, fewer weapons may be needed to keep them in line.

But neither Brzezinski nor the "left" among Carter's foreign policy advisers—men like diplomats Paul Warnke and George Ball—would question the need to keep the U.S. dominant. So long as that view prevails, defense spending will remain high.

But foreign policy advisers are only half the picture. The electoral coalition that put him in office will have its strength in Congress. If Brookings or the Trilateral people say we must have wage and price controls, the unions and the liberals in Congress are likely to say no.

How will Carter react to this contradictory advice? We cannot know. All that we do know with certainty is that whichever course he takes, Carter will risk losing support.

### ►Watch appointments.

In short, the 1976 elections have produced an extremely volatile political situation for the next four years. No direction is guaranteed, but the next six months should indicate which way he will go. Between now and January, his major appointments will be the thing to watch. And from January to March 15 it will be the budget projections for fiscal year 1978. I will comment here on these decisions every four weeks.

Because this situation is fluid, people who are active in anticorporate, union, consumer, feminist and ethnic movements will be able to apply pressure during this period. Carter's foreign policy advisers have already made their positions known.

It is less clear what the left proposes, but the circumstances of Carter's election make it imperative that programs be developed and pressure be kept up. In the long run the most important fact about the Democratic victory will not be what Carter does but whether an opposition movement emerges after the bareness of the Nixon-Ford years. The election is over, but politics is about to begin. ■

Alan Wolfe lives in Berkeley, California, and is the author of *The Seamy Side of Democracy* (McKay).



## Letters

### Still time for us

Editors:

Somehow through all the contradictions of 1976 capitalism, I am an intern at Cook County Hospital working 110 hours a week with no time to consume my salary. So please accept my sustaining subscription.

—Gordy

### Momentous occasion

Editors:

Enclosed is a check for a year's subscription to the weekly newspaper. This is a momentous occasion in the history of the left in this country. I hope your efforts will be fruitful initially and in the establishment of a viable socialist party or movement.

—Gregory Feise  
Olympia, Wash.

### Needed

Editor:

There's nothing needed more in the USA now than your new paper.

Edward P. Thompson  
Worcester, England

### Socialism Schtunk

Editors:

*These Times* looks like it has interesting possibilities and I wish it success. (But) years of covering both business and government have persuaded me that while capitalism may be pretty bad, a state-run society is a lot worse. At the moment, among other things, I would like to see the government get out of the business of delivering the mail and of educating children—positions that I suppose put me somewhere to the right of Barry Goldwater. It's all well and good to talk about taking power from the businessmen and giving it to the people, but what that really means in effect is giving power to politicians, who I think are a lot more dangerous than businessmen. At the very least, businessmen must have some marketable skill to survive and they must put their money where their mouths are; a politician puts only his ego on the line and once he's in office all of us must pay his salary for four years, like him or not.

I simply feel that the ultimate answer to the problems of society lies in diversity—of products as well as ideas—and that socialism is not the way to achieve diversity.

—Dan Rottenberg  
Philadelphia

### Hurry up!

Editors:

Hurry Up!  
If it's good, I want to give Christmas gift subscriptions.

—Valerie

### From the factory

Editors:

Enclosed is a list of people from my factory for whom I am buying gift subscriptions. They are not too radical, but are natural leaders of the workers if they can be involved. From your list of sponsors (the best I have ever seen) it appears you will not be wild, irresponsible or dogmatic. I entrust you with the heavy responsibility of helping to expand their social and personal awareness.

—George

## ALBUM



Photos by Ken Firestone

*In These Times welcomes the work of photographers that shows various aspects of life in America. These photographs do not need to be tied to a news story or even a particular theme, though that is preferable.*



## Let's face it.

Editors:

I extend my deepest hopes for a tremendous success, but let's face it:

1. If you unfortunately remain small, the government and its snoopers will let you alone.
2. If, as you'll expectedly deserve, you get a million subs, the Ruling Class will have hemorrhages and suddenly the fire department will discover a violation and close you down. Or will it be the Justice (!) Dept. who will suddenly discover Moscow Gold? Or will it be Chinese Gold this time?

Lou Kashins  
New York City

## Hopeless?

Editors:

The concept of social rationality intrigues me to the very center of my existence. Twenty years of business experience leaves me filled with dull certainty that profit rationality will not only prevail, but will negate any possibility of any other course of action. Frankly, my emotional sympathies lie with the blacks, the radicals, the poor and the different and I can not imagine what has delayed a violent confrontation in this country. More correctly I have imagined it and I have speculated with my children that it was without doubt the perpetuation of the American dream that the goodies can come to anyone.

May I say that I regard the task of a swing to social rationality as slightly east of completely hopeless? Given that, no effort should be spared in trying with vigor to bring it about.

R.H. Bolling  
Lansing, N.Y.

## Baptist to Baptist

Editor:

As an openly admitted magazine of socialist content, you are quite justly open to the charge of Propaganda. I know the meaning of the word. I suggest, however, that your objectivity would be better accepted by inviting dialog with economists who are supporters of the "free enterprise" system. I liken it to so many of our organizations which talk only to themselves—Baptist to Baptist, Republican to Republican, Democrat to Democrat, etc.

Three other comments:

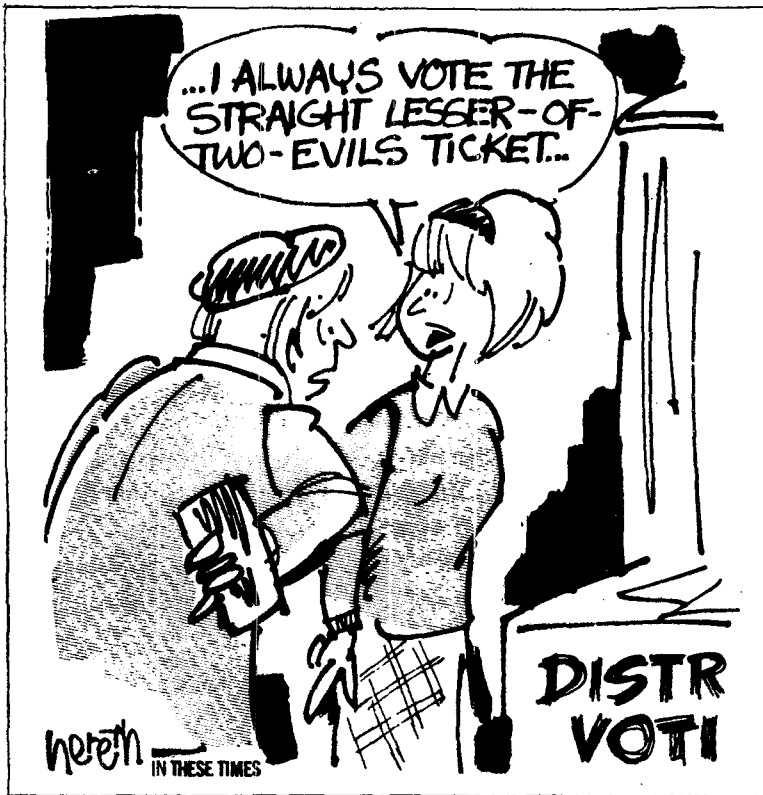
If your paper spends time quoting the Bible of Marxist Socialism and uses the standard terms and jargon of the "intellectual" socialist (Proletariat, Bourgeois, etc.) my subscription will end with the first paper.

Second, I notice on your staff several columnists and writers who in the past seemed to believe that anything coming out of Moscow was to be taken as Divine Revelation. I want nothing to do with any socialist who thinks that the USSR is a model.

Third, I subscribe to no ideology on economics, but if the belief in democracy, however imperfect, is the only social system, I plead guilty.

If my subscription is welcome under these conditions, here is my check.

O.R. Lawrence  
Weaverville, N.C.



## Salvador Luria on Science

## A threat to human life?



A recent phenomenon in our society is the reappearance of a wide-spread distrust of science. Many people, including some progressive ones, view science as, at best, a useless activity, a toy for a small elite of selfish, irresponsible individuals. At worst, they see it as the evil source of a technology that holds all sorts of threats to human life.

For the first time since the Roman Church tried to silence Galileo in the 17th century, one hears demands that scientific research should be slowed down, regulated, and even that some areas of research be forbidden.

Socialists should make a special effort to understand the social roots of what is happening in and to science. Karl Marx and his followers in the mainstream of socialism looked upon natural science as a liberating force that would help sweep away the clouds of superstition and make available enough resources to satisfy the needs of a liberated society. It was on the model of natural science that Marx strove to develop a scientific science of society.

Has science changed? Or were people too optimistic about how it would be used and how it would affect society?

Maybe both. Science has certainly become more powerful than 19th century philosophers expected. It has made possible the release of atomic energy and the exploration of the planets. It has led to the disappearance of some diseases and to large increases in human wealth and in the length of human life. And yet these changes have left us in a world still full of hostility, oppression, and war. How has this come about, and how do socialists view the role of science in a society they want to remake?

In *These Times* may provide a forum in whose columns these questions about science can be ex-

plored. Meanwhile, to get the ball rolling, here is a brief outline of some of the dilemmas as they appear to me.

1) Science is the source of technology, which then finds practical applications in society. Technology can solve problems but creates new ones. It provides new sources of energy and also new brands of weapons. It can cure diseases and generate pollution. Is the problem only one of political management, of wise vs. unwise decision-making, or is there something intrinsically uncontrollable in the way technology, developing at a breathtaking pace, determines the commitments of society?

2) Science is one of the major outlets of the human desire for knowledge. Science and art are the creators of new knowledge, the sources of the intellectual heritage of humankind. But, within competitive, power-oriented societies, whose elite establishments are not responsible to general human needs, science itself may create its own elite, selfishly striving to perpetuate itself.

3) Science is unique among human activities because it strives only for predictability and verifiability. Its internal logic does not allow it to tolerate contradictions, and in fact its entire enterprise consists in achieving a self-consistent, rational view of the world. Is the intrinsic rationality of science an asset or a limitation? Can natural science provide a valid model for other fields of human activity?

4. Science has its own internal constraint to explore nature without bias and to report findings without subterfuge. Can it be the source of other values? Are there in the make-up of human beings any basic sources of generally valid values, personal or collective commitments? And if so, are these sources such that science may or may not ultimately account for in rational terms?

Luria is a Nobel laureate in bio-chemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column will appear regularly.

*In These Times* encourages comments from readers and suggestions for topics that should be explored in the area of science and its relation to society. Brief comments may be published if in the opinion of the Editors they contribute to constructive exploration of the issues.

## Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins on Food

## If people are hungry

Asking the right question is often more difficult than coming up with the right answer.

Hunger, for instance, is continually defined as a problem of inadequate production. If people are hungry, there must not be enough food, right?

In a sense the emphasis on production is working. More food is being produced. The Green Revolution adds an estimated 20,000,000 tons annually to the Asian grain larders. Mexican wheat yields tripled in only two decades.

But wait. At the same time there are more hungry people than ever before. Since there is also more food, we're left with only two possible conclusions:

- The production focus was correct, but soaring numbers of people simply overran even these dramatic production gains.

- The diagnosis was incorrect. Scarcity is not the cause of hunger and production increases alone cannot solve the problem.

The simple facts of world grain production make it clear that the overpopulation-scarcity diagnosis is, in fact, incorrect. Present world grain production could more than adequately feed every person on earth. Even during the "scarcity" years of 1972-73, there was 9 percent more grain a person than in "ample" years like 1960.

Ironic as it may sound, the narrow focus on increased production has acutely compounded the problem of hunger.

Increasing production has become synonymous with "modernizing" agriculture—supplying the "progressive" farmer with imported technology, fertilizer, irrigation, pesticides and machinery. New high-productivity seeds only reinforce this definition of development because their higher yields depend heavily on these inputs. Governments, international lending agencies and foreign assistance programs pushing for greater production have willingly subsidized the heavy financial expense of this type of modernization.

This influx of money has turned farming into a place to make money, sometimes big money. To profit, however, one needs some combination of land, money, credit or political influence, which most of the world's farmers do not have.

Competition for land suddenly made profitable by this official production strategy has brought rising land values. Large landlords have taken back land they formerly rented. Many have used their higher profits to buy out neighboring farmers. Mechanization has reduced the need for agricultural labor.

As small farmers have been squeezed out and tenants displaced the number of landless has increased, comprising 30 to 60 percent of the agrarian population throughout the underdeveloped world. Additional millions have been made urban refugees.

We are witnessing the radical transformation of the control of food resources. Agriculture, once the livelihood for millions of self-provisioning farmers, is being turned into a profit base for a new class of agricultural entrepreneurs.

In the course of this transformation the hungry have been severed from the production process.

If "how can more food be produced" is the wrong question, what is the right question?

First, understand there is no country in which food resources could not feed the local people. Because underdeveloped countries are portrayed as helpless and pitifully in need of aid, we lose sight of the simple truth that hungry people can and will feed themselves if they are allowed to do so.

If people are not feeding themselves, you can be sure powerful obstacles are in the way. These obstacles are not overpopulation, too little land, laziness, religious taboos, inhospitable climate, lack of technology or unequal terms of trade. Research shows the most fundamental constraint to food self-reliance is that the majority of people do not control the production process and, more and more frequently, do not even participate.

The right question, then, is: How do we remove obstacles preventing people from taking control of the production process and feeding themselves?

More important than food aid or designing some rural development project for the Third World is building a movement in this country that makes the connection between the way government and corporate power work against the hungry abroad and the way they work against the food interests of the vast majority of Americans.

There is no other road to food security for any of us. The path suggested here—the path of people taking control of food—is the only guarantee of long-term productivity and food security. It is the land monopolizers, both the traditional landed elites and corporate agribusiness, that have proven themselves the most inefficient, unreliable and destructive users of agricultural resources.

"More food" or even redistribution programs like food aid and food stamps will continue to mean more hunger until we first address the question of who controls and who takes part in the production process.



Lappé and Collins are codirectors of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Their book, *Food First! Freedom from the Hunger Myths*, will be published in March. Lappé is author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. They will be regular columnists starting in January.



# A job whose time has come

The election returns are in, but the future of the United States remains in doubt. Almost everyone was dissatisfied with the available choices. Few are delighted with the result.

Yet this campaign was not significantly worse than most presidential contests of recent decades. The difference between this and past elections was not that most voters acted against rather than for a candidate or party. That has been common in this century. Nor were the two major parties less different from each other than before. Their differences were as real and explicit as at any time since the 1930's.

The new element in this election is that more and more people find these differences inadequate to meet the problems facing our society. Voters and non-voters alike know, or sense, that the limits to public discourse set by the major parties prevent shedding old alternatives and defining new ones.

To more and more people it is clear that the political system is at an impasse. It presents us all with little more than dilemmas: choices between equally obnoxious or no longer credible alternatives. That is why the more exposure President Ford and President-elect Carter got, the harder it was to choose between them.

Since World War II, Republicans have won the presidency by promising to end wars presided over by Democrats and to bring prosperity with peace. Democrats have captured the White House with promises to end recessions presided over by Republicans and to bring progress through growth. But it is difficult to believe in, no less remember, prosperity without war. And it is no longer believable that simple material growth in the pursuit of private gain signifies progress.

The polls show that people want peace without unemployment, economic insecurity and lost opportunities. They want progressive development, a healthy economy, without war. They want stable prices and full employment, not one at the expense of the other. They want good education and health care, adequate housing and livable communities, honorable work and dignified leisure, without crushing taxes and bankrupt cities. They want a compassionate society without paternalism and dependence.

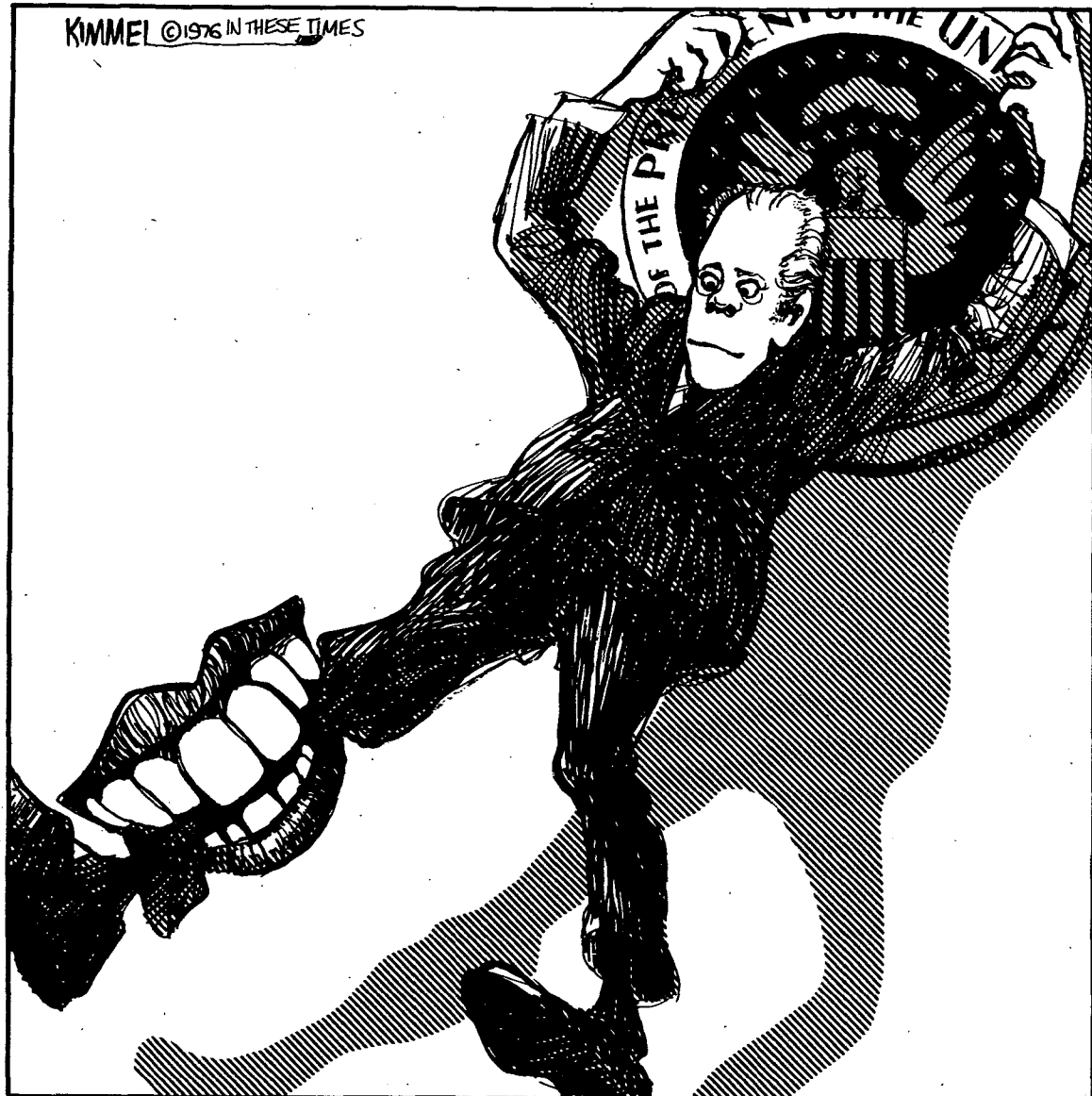
They don't want the moon, just modest attainments in what the politicians never tire of telling them is "the best country in the world"—and the richest beyond

ancestral dreams. And increasingly they know, or sense, that the system of economics in this country is unable to deliver the standard of living and quality of life they want, and that the system of politics is unwilling to make it do so.

It is true that inflation and unemployment, crime and health care, education and housing, free enterprise and big government, liberty and equality, even Karl Marx and "socialism" are discussed in election campaigns. But never the underlying reality. Corporate capitalism, this society's system of property, investment, resource- and labor-allocation is a political taboo. And yet, without that discussion all the rest remains abstract, hollow, and unconvincing.

Capitalism is the unspoken reality of American politics. That is the one thing the major parties agree upon: praise capitalism (not too often and preferably by another name) but don't discuss it. Preclude serious discussion of

## IN THESE TIMES OPINION



the central reality of our times.

This is to be expected. The major parties are the protection agencies of corporate capitalism. They are committed in bipartisan consensus to accommodating government policy and public expectations to the capacities and limits of the system. It is their job to keep corporate-capitalism out of, "above," politics, just as it was the job of the pre-Civil War Whig and Democratic parties to keep slavery out of politics. They failed then because determined people brought the reality of slave power into the electoral arena, giving birth to the Republican party.

It remains to be seen whether the Democratic and Republican parties will succeed in keeping corporate power out of electoral politics. If they do they will only be doing their job, and socialists will not be doing theirs.

That job is to bring capitalism into politics as the great issue of our time. This newspaper is committed to beginning the job and

to seeing it through. It is a job whose time has come.

The existing socialist parties, either through sectarian elitism or failure of nerve, also have evaded the task, or obstructed it. As if in a silent partnership with the major parties, they have brought aid and comfort to the bipartisan consensus and thus share responsibility with the major parties for the impasse in American politics and for the low level and shallow content of campaign debate.

This newspaper is committed to helping to break the impasse, by doing its job as a socialist organ of news and opinion.

The first step is to break with both the sectarian legacy of the socialist left, and the timidity and incapacity of the social reform tradition. We intend to speak to corporate capitalism as the great issue of our time, and to socialism as the popular movement that will meet it.

In subsequent editorials we will explore this commitment and its implications. Our news reporting

and columns, what we cover and how, the range of opinion in our pages will exemplify that commitment.

A decent respect for the opinion of our readers leads us to declare the basic principles underlying this newspaper.

- Our overriding commitment is to democracy, to socialism as the means to its attainment, and to the inseparability of the two in modern industrial society.

- We are convinced that capitalism is irreconcilable with liberty, and equality, and democracy.

- We recognize the urgency of moving toward socialism to preserve and extend democracy in the everyday practice and in the convictions of the people.

- We will continuously explore the meaning of a socialist democracy rooted in the American people's experience and in their struggle to change the capitalist present.

- We will focus upon translating the principles of self-determination and citizen participation, essential to democracy, into their socialist meanings.

- We proceed on the premise that socialism is not the private property of self-proclaimed vanguards but represents the struggles, the experiences, the thinking of the working class and ultimately the entire people as a democratic citizenry.

At the heart of our approach is the conviction that diversity is the soul and basis of any democratic socialist unity:

- The diversity of the working class now and of a healthy people in a socialist society.

- The diversity *within* socialism—the diversity of ideas, outlooks, experiences, and values among socialists and socialist organizations.

Because these are our principles, we anticipate and favor a diversity of movements for socialism that will have to forge unity among themselves in mutual consent and with respect for differences and disagreements.

We favor multiparty politics in capitalist America and in a socialist America.

- Finally, we are committed to the principle of civic initiative through freedom of association, conscience, advocacy, and travel. We take as fundamental the principal that sovereignty resides with the people, not with the government, the state, the party. Corporate-capitalism has made the sovereignty of the people a dead letter. The socialism deserving our commitment will rejuvenate, honor, and practice it.

This is where we stand. ■

## 'Full employment has never been achieved...'

"Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale know as well as we do that a full-employment economy has never been achieved in this country and probably never will be," wrote Sen. Barry Goldwater on Nov. 1. "The closest we have ever come was in the midst of an all-out war when many in the labor force were in the military and our munitions industries were running at capacity." Only "enormous expenditures" for government jobs could get everyone working, and that

would cause "the kind of inflation that is plaguing Europe," Goldwater concluded.

And so it is. In the midst of a continuing "recovery," unemployment is serious and getting worse. Last month jobs fell by 40,000 while the number of people entering the labor force rose by 140,000, for a net increase in unemployment of 180,000. The official jobless rate went up from 7.8 percent to 7.9 percent.

And that doesn't tell half the story. Government statistics

count as unemployed only those persons "seeking work" in the four previous weeks. It doesn't include those who need work, or those who have been unemployed so long they've given up looking. The official figures put the overall level at 7.9, but for blacks 12.7, for teenagers 18.6 and for black teenagers 40 percent.

Other estimates put the true overall rate at 10.5 percent and the Urban League estimates black unemployment at 25 percent, the

same level that existed during the worst days of the 1930s' Great Depression. The league's estimate of black teenage unemployment is an astounding 64 percent.

Meanwhile, profits for the largest American corporations are back at record or near-record levels. IBM third-quarter profits were a record \$587,000,000, and General Motors nine-month profits were over \$2 billion.

This is in the face of the largest increase in history of Americans

living in poverty, according to a recent report of the U.S. Census Bureau.

Those of us who took economics in school were told that when times were bad and people were out of work, profits and prices went down because of increasing competition. But the control over the market of giant American corporations is now so great that profits and prices rise regardless of how badly everyone else is doing. ■